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# TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

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# ADDENDA TO VOL. I.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., for the following note :—

"Permit me to call your attention to page 294 of the *Travancore Archæological Series* where there is a Saṅskṛit Inscription belonging to Kaṇḍiyūr. In your introductory remarks you say that "it records the same fact as in the previous and gives the day as 1511564th after the beginning of the Kali era which is represented by the chronogram "Vishamampuṇyamēkam." This when reduced to Kollam Āṇḍu and A.D. comes to $\frac{1511564 \times 4}{1461} = 4813\frac{638}{1461}$ Kali year; the fraction may be left off and taking the year to be 4138 its equivalent Kollam Āṇḍu will be according to the formula "கொல்லத்தில் 'தாளாங்க'த்தை கூட்டுகில் கலிவத்ஸரம்" (and தாளாங்கம் = 3926) = 4138—3926 = 212 M.E. + 825 = 1037 A.D.

"You say that the Saṅskṛit inscription records the same fact as in the previous. But the immediately previous one is of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr, equivalent to 946 A.D. and records the gift of certain lands to the Kaṇḍiyūr Temple, while the Saṅskṛit inscription refers to the *abhishēkam* of the God. The Tamil inscription at page 289, however, records the fact of the repair of the temple which commenced on Friday 17th Tulām 392 M.E., and continued to Sunday the 8th of Mēḍam 393, on which date perhaps the *Kumbhābhishēkam* was performed, of which the Saṅskṛit inscription is the record. The 'previous' inscription to which you refer at p. 294 is evidently the one at p. 289 and not the one at p. 292 of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr which immediately precedes the Saṅskṛit one though its translation comes in only after the Saṅskṛit original and the abstract of its contents. The repair was finished on Sunday the 8th of Mēsha according to the inscription at p. 289 and the *abhishēkam* was performed when the sun was in Mēsha, according to the Saṅskṛit inscription at p. 294. On consulting a local Saṅskṛit scholar as to the meaning of the Saṅskṛit text I was told that the expression "हेमार्त्मासौसुमान्यः" has no special significance and that it points to the Kali day of the performance of the *abhishēkam*. Upon this, I set about calculating the Kali day and reducing it to Kollam Āṇḍu and the Christian era. The result is as follows :—"हेमार्त्मासौसुमान्यः" $= \frac{1577558 \times 4}{1461}$ = Kali year 4319 and a fraction (leaving aside the latter), it will be equivalent to K. 4319—3926 = 393 Kollam Āṇḍu and this is exactly the date of the repair of the temple mentioned in the Tamil inscription at p. 289. It will be Ko. 393 + 825 = 1218 A.D. If I am right the above mentioned Chronogram "विषमं" etc. does not correctly represent the date of the abhishēkam."

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On page 290, in the text I was not able to find out the exact reading of the word beginning with *sarvvā°*. From the extract given below it will be quite clear that the word is *sarvādityam* = Sans. सर्वादित्य.

சர்வாதித்யம் = பெருவிருந்து, "சர்வாதித்யம் பண்ணினேனத்தவர்கள் சோறுந்தண்ணீருங் குறையறுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்குமா போலே," திருவா. 9ம் பத்து, 3ம் திரு., 1ம் பாட்டு

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From this it is understood that *sarvāthitya* is the grand feast, given as for instance in connection with the *kumbhābhishēka* etc., ceremonies. The same occurs also in an inscription found in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai ; it runs thus :—

" திருக்கால்க்கலைப் பெருமாள் தீர்பாதீச்சஞ் செய்தருளிச் செல்லாநின்ற மூவாயிரத்தெழு-நூற்றையா மாண்டைக் கெதிராண்டு.....". Herein also the word seems to mean the *kumbhābhishēkas* of the temple at Tirukkākkarai ; this inscription appears to give incidentally the date of construction of the temple as 3705 which seems evidently to refer itself to the Kali era and which is equivalent to A.D., 603-4, a date which does not militate against that of Nammāḻvār (that is A.D. 798 according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai), the Śrīvaishṇava saint who has personally paid homage to it in his Tiruvāymoḻi.

T. A. G.

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# TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES.

## VOLUME II.

### No. 1. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF THE 15TH YEAR OF RAJARAJA THE FIRST.

The inscription edited below is to be found engraved on a rock in the first *prākāra* of the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. This rock bears on it several other ancient inscriptions of the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa dynasties. At a later period in the history of this temple, a shrine named Kailāsa was built upon the summit of this little rock and a *prākāra* wall was erected round the shrine. In putting up both these structures a number of inscriptions have been suffered to undergo more or less damage. The one under consideration is built in at the end, but otherwise its preservation is very good.

The alphabet in which the record is written is **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** and the language, **Tamiḻ**. It belongs to the reign of the great Chōḷa king **Rājarāja I** and is dated **the thirtieth day of the solar month Kanni, which corresponded with a Tuesday and the nakshatra Purvābhādra (Puraviraṭṭādi), in the fifteenth year of the reign** of the king. This date has been calculated and verified by Prof. Kielhorn and the result published in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume V, p. 48, as Tuesday, 29th August 999 A. D. The inscription records that certain arrangements were made by the Sabhā and the Mūlaparaḍaiyār regarding the conduct of the secular business of the temple, which the latter declined to do any longer. It is not to give to the public this little piece of information contained in the document nor with a desire to add to the stock of inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I that the present one is edited, but to revise the interpretation put on certain important passages of the historical introduction by the former editors and which has by sheer repetition got so fast into the mind of the scholars and laymen alike and which has been, equally firmly, believed by at least a small section of the scholars from the very beginning to be an unsatisfactory explanation. A number of facts which have been gathered during the past seven or eight years enables me to review in this paper the explanation offered to one historical event, namely, the so-called destruction of ships by Rājarāja at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.

Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya were the persons who first took up seriously the study of the Chōḷa records and indeed did very much for the construction of a fairly complete history of the Chōḷas. In translating the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings they adopted the tentative method. In rendering the particular passage under consideration into "destroying the ships at the road-stead of Kāndaḷūr (or Kāndaḷūr-śālai)" they had to take three steps. In Volume I of the *South Indian Inscriptions* we find the passage

*Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa peru-nilachchelviyum taṇakkē urimai-pūṇḍamai maṇakkoḷa-kkāndaḷūr-chchālai kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi,*

translated thus: "While both the goddess of fortune and the great goddess of the earth, who had become his exclusive property, gave him pleasure,—was pleased to build a jewel (-like) hall at Kāndaḷūr,"—a translation carrying with it neither the sense of the original as a whole nor based upon anything like the correct understanding of each word of the sentence. Any student of Tamiḻ will be shocked to hear the passage *kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi* translated into 'having built a jewel-like hall,' for, not a single word therein bears any shadow of such a meaning to warrant a translation like the one given by the editors. Dr. Hultzsch, the Editor-in-chief, found at a somewhat later stage that the meaning assigned by him to the passage was untenable. He says: "This expression, which was mistranslated in *Vol. I*, seems to refer to some incident

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in the king's early life, perhaps to some feat, by which he showed the great strength of his arm. In an inscription of the 12th year of his reign, which was published in *Vol. I* (No. 146), காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளின is the only epithet which precedes the name of the king as a kind of *biruda*". Consequently, he revised his translation of the passage thus: "While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife having been pleased to cut the vessel (*kalam*) (in) the hall (at) Kāndaḷūr." The third attempt at refining the translation occurs on p. 241 of *S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. II.* The translation runs thus:— 'While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife,.....having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-sālai" and the foot-note on it reads as follows: "That this is the correct translation of the ambiguous words காந்தளூர்ச்சாலைகலமறுத்தருளி, may be concluded from two inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Kō-Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva, at Vēlūr and Tiruppaṅgili, which read:-சேரலன் வேலை கெழுகாந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுப்பித்து, 'he caused to be destroyed the ships (of) Śēralaṉ (*i. e.*, the Chēra king) at Kāndaḷūr-śālai, which is situated on the sea.' Accordingly, Kāndaḷūr-śālai appears to be a place on the Malabar Coast. In the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (xi. 71) the shorter form *śālai* is used for it." This translation has been finally adopted and is now accepted by scholars without dispute. With the facts then available it was perhaps the most satisfactory translation of the passage possible. Let me now proceed with my interpretation of the passage, based upon the new facts since discovered. Before doing so, it is necessary to ascertain definitely the meanings of the words employed in this particular passage occurring in the inscriptions.

The words that have offered the greatest difficulty in translating are *urimai-pūṇḍu, maṇakkoḷa* or *maṇakkōḷ (karudi), śālai, kalam* and *aṟuttu*. The compound *taṇakkē-urimai-pūṇḍu* simply means 'having assumed the exclusive possession to oneself'; it does not warrant the translation of the passage into "had become his wife". *Maṇakkōḷ* means 'a fact taken into one's mind, or an assumption', therefore *maṇakkōḷ-karudi*, means 'having regard to the faith or assumption'; that *maṇakoḷal* has this meaning is not a mere guess based upon probability and the context, but is warranted by the usage of classic authors. The phrase *maṇakkoḷalvēṇḍun* occurs in *l.* 18, *Puṟañjēriy-irutta-kādai* of the *Śilappadigāram;* the Arumbadavuraiy-āśiriyar gives its meaning thus: *tiru-vuḷḷatt-aḍaikka-vēṇḍum*, that is, 'be it pressed into your mind': and Aḍiyārk-kunallār renders it thus *tiru-vuḷḷam-paṟṟal-vēṇḍum*, which is but a paraphrase of the other commentator's explanation. Thus, then, the phrases *maṇakkoḷa* and *maṇakkōḷ-karudi* mean 'having taken (the fact) in his mind' and 'bearing in mind the assumption.' The next word *śālai*, (1) the true import of which could have been easily found out from such compounds as *āṭura-śālai, aṟachchāiai, ūṭṭu-chchālai* or *aṟavūṉ-śālai*; in all these instances it means a place where a public institution was situated. All temples had attached to them a boarding school

(1) Compare, (*a*) "தீர்த்தகரையும் தேவர் கோட்டமும்—மோத்தின் சாலையு மொருங்குட னின்றன."

*ll.* 27—28, அழற்படுகாதை, சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

(*b*) "வேள்விச்சாலை."

*l.* 170, வரந்தருகாதை, *Ibid.*

(*c*) "...நான்மறையாளர் நன்றுண்டாகென தாமுறைபிழையார் தலைதின் றுண்ணுஞ் சாலையும் தளியும்."

உதயணன் கதை, வத்தவகாண்டம், யாழ்பெற்றது.

(*d*) "... சாலை தளி நிறுமின்."

v. 306, ஜீவகசிந்தாணி, நாமகளிலம்பகம்.

The commentator paraphrases the word சாலை as அறச்சாலை.

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known as *śālai;* and the word *śālā* in Sanskrit definitely means a school, and to an epigraphist the word *śālābhōgam*, meaning the land granted for maintaining the unkeep of a *śālai*, will be very familiar. In this *śalai*, along with the casual visitor Brāhmaṇas, the student Brāhmaṇas, who were permanent residents there, also messed. In this sense the word is used in one of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, found in Tanjore : it runs thus *śēvittuvanda-Śiva-yōgigaḷ padiṉmarum Uḍaiyār śālaiyilē uṇṇakkaḍavar;* this passage has there been translated thus: "ten Śiva yōgins .....have to be fed in the hall (*śālai*) of the temple." That *śālai* means no other thing but a place where a large number of Brāhmaṇas were fed will become patent as we proceed. Again in an inscription of the king *Kō-kkarunandaḍakkaṉ*, the passages *Kāndaḷūr maryādiyāl toṇṇūṟṟ-aivar śaṭṭarkku śālaiyum śeydāṉ;* and *ich-chālaikku peyda kalāttil Paviḷiya-charaṇattār-uḍaiya-kalam nārpattaindu, Taittiriya charaṇattār-uḍaiya kala-muppattāṟu, Talavakāra-charaṇattār-uḍaiya kalam padiṉālu"* occur. They have been translated thus: 'the king Śrī Karunandaḍakkaṉ made (established) in conformity with the rules of Kāndaḷūr, a *śālai* for ninty-five *śaṭṭars*' and 'Of the seats established in this *śālai*, the members of the Paviḷiya-charaṇa have forty-five, the members of the Taittiriya-charaṇa have thirty-six, those of the Talavakāra-charaṇa have fourteen' (1). From these passages it will be clear that a *śālai* is a place where *brāhmaṇas* are fed, while *kalam*(2), which is the same as *uṇkalam*, is a vessel or leaf from which one eats his food. If it is said that so many *kalams* were allotted for each *charaṇa*, it means that so many seats both in the school and the dining hall were reserved for each *charaṇa*. The last word is *aṟuttu* means cut, destroyed or made to cease. The whole passage beginning from *Tirumagaḷ* and ending with *aṟutt-aruḷi* may now be translated thus: 'Having regard to the faith or conscientiousness that the goddess of the great earth had become, like the goddess of wealth, his own, he discontinued the

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(*e*) 'விசயை, சீவகன் பிறந்தவிடம் சுடுகாடாகக் கிடவாதபடி சாலையாக்கிக் கோவிந்தன் அதற்குரியனுய் நின்று நாடோறும் பிள்ளைப்பாலுமளந்து நெய்யைச் சொரிந்து அமுதத்தையும் ஊட்டப்பண்ணி இவ்வறம் கைகுகையாலே பரிவையகன்ருன்.'

Com. on v. 2604, முத்தியிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(*f*) 'ஸ்ரீபுகலூர் தேவர் ஸ்ரீமாஹேஸ்வரயி கூடி[ன]து செய்தருளும்போது உத்தமோத்தமாக [ஸ்ரீ]லோகமாணிக்கவுத[ன்]வே[ள்]ளிமழுத்து வாகூர் நம்பியார் குளத்திற் தெக்கரையிலே நித்தம் பன்னிரண்டு ப்ராஹ்மணர் உண்பதாக ஜயங்கொண்ட மண்டலத்துப் புலியூர்க்கோட்டத்துப் பேறூர்நாட்டு நெற்குன்றத்து நெற்குன்றங் கிழார் அரயங்கருவுணுயகான களப்பான ராஜர் செய்வித்த சாலைக்கு..... சாலைப்புறமாக.....இச்சாலை உண்கைக்கு இறையிலிசெய்து குடுத்து..."

Extract from an unpublished inscription of the Śiva temple at Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District.

(1) Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I pp. 6, 8 and 13.

(2) Compare.

(*a*) "பொற் கலத்தே எனக்கும் அமுதமிட்டார்." Com. on v. 399, காமகளிலம்பகம் ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(*b*) "செம்பொற் கலத்தையும் பக்கத்தட்டங்களையும் பரப்பித் தங்கின அறுசுவை யடிசிலே யேந்த..." Com. on v. 2025, சுரமஞ்சரியாரிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(*c*) "திருவெள்ளறை திருவானைக்கற் பெருமானடிகளுச்சம்போது அமுதுசெய்யும் போது வேதம் வல்லாகொரு ப்ராஹ்மணன் உத்தமஸ்ரீத்து ஊட்டுவிதாக ...வச்சபொன்...இப்பொன்னின் பலிசையால் ஊட்டுவதாவபடி தாலமொன்று வட்டிலொன்று..."

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*kalam* (by implication, the feeding) in Kāndaḷūr-śālai (or the feeding house at Kāndaḷūr) (which was instituted by the Chēra who had the presumption to call himself a sovereign before Mummuḍi-chōḷa, the Chōḷa, who had, by right of conquest, claims to the crowns of the Chōḷa, the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms). This apparently uncharitable act, in fact, the serious sin of stopping the feeding of no less persons than the gods of the earth (*bhūsuras*), Brāhmaṇas, which should shock a pious Hindu like the great conqueror Rājarāja himself, would certainly be urged forward as against the present interpretation. The objection would no doubt be true if it was really a fact that Rājarāja stopped the feeding once for all. In this connection we have to refer the readers to an inscription found in Kanyākumāri and published in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, pp. 163-164. Therein we see that what was once the Śrīvallabha-pperuñ-jālai or the large *śālai* established by (the Pāṇḍya king ?) Śrīvallabha was made to cease bearing that name and was re-named Rājarāja-pperuñ-jālai or the great *śālai* of Rājarāja. This king Rājarāja had a fancy in his first conquering expeditions to dub everything with his name; for example, the Pāṇḍya kingdom conquered by him was called Rājarājappāṇḍināḍu. The glory of the Chēra kingdom, from time immemorial consisted in its extensive feeding of the Brāhmaṇas and others; the various *śālais* were the envy of the other kings who did not, at any rate, seem to have been so liberal in the matter of feeding as the Chēras. Rājarāja having assumed himself to be sovereign of the earth evidently desired to have all the charities in his name for which he conquered the various countries and reinstated the charities conducted by others in those countries and called them after his own name. He is represented to have discontinued the *śālai* attached to the temple of Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram and another at Talaikkuḷam. The passages which describe the discontinuance of the working of *śālais* in these places run thus in the unpublished inscriptions in my collection: *Karaikkaṇḍēśvarattu-kkalam-aṟṟa yāṇḍu* and *Talaikkuḷattu-kkalam-aṟṟa-yāṇḍu*, which mean the year in which the *kalam* (or feeding) was discontinued at Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram and at Talaikkuḷam respectively. Both these places do exist now; there are two temples of Karaikkaṇḍēśvara (the god with a stained neck, Śiva); one is situated in the village of Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi near Kaḍigaippaṭṭiṉam and the other in Trivandram. The latter is a small shrine at the end of the Śālaigrāmam and forms a *kīḻīḍu* (subordinate) to the Valiyaśālai Śiva temple. Whether the *śālai* in this Karāikkaṇḍēśvaram temple or that in the Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram at Tirunāyiṉārkuṟichchi was destroyed by Rājarāja it is not possible to ascertain. In all likelihood the latter might be identified with the Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram, whose *śālai* was discontinued by Rājarāja, for, in the village of Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi there is a fairly large temple with a number of inscriptions on its walls and, very likely, there might have been a large feeding house attached to it, which might have attracted the attention of Rājarāja. Talaikkuḷam is also very near Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi.

Now, as for the identification of Kāndaḷūrśālai, a very important fact was brought to my notice by my Pandit Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri which enables me to fix beyond a shadow of doubt its exact position. He informed me that the popular name of the deity of a large Śiva temple, situated in the Brāhmaṇa street in Trivandram Town called the Valiyaśālai, is Kāndaḷḷūrjvālai-Mahādēvar and that there were many cadjan account books and *nīṭṭus* (royal writs or the equally important holy writs of Maṭhādhipatis) about 150 to 200 years old in which the temple was called Kāndaḷūrchchālai. I examined a few of them and in all of these documents the temple is

Extract from the inscription of the Śiva temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV p. 265.

(d) "...வேதழ வல்லாரிருவர் ப்ராஹ்மணரை ஊட்டுவதற்கு...பொன்னின் பலிசை யால்...ஊட்டுவோமானோம்...தாலமிரண்டு வட்டிலிரண்டும்..."

*Ibid*, p. 268.

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uniformly known as Kāndaḷūrchchālai. I extract from one document a portion of it for the information of the readers :(1)

1. மீனச்சனி மீனவியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் 956 மாண்டு துலாமாசம் 5 சென்ற செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பரணியும் அபர பக்ஷத்து பிரதமையும் 12 முக்கால் நாழிகைக்குமேல் துவிதியையும் நித்திய யோகமும் கூடிய திவசம் பகல் 5 நாழிகைக்கு மகர ராசி லக்னத்து

2. காந்தள்ளூர்ச்சாலை மஹாதேவர் க்ஷேத்திரத்தில் புஷ்பாஞ்சலி உடைய முன்சிறை மட புறத்து மூப்புஸ்தானம் ஆரோஹணமாய கோவிந்தாபிவர்ண்ண தூர்ய்யாசிரமி ஸ்ரீ புஷ்பாஞ்சலி தி...ட்டு சாஸ்திர தாஸ கோவிந்த பிரம்மாநந்த தீர்த்தர் எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளிய இடத்து ; The passage means that when Saturn and Jupiter were in the Mīṇa rāśi, in the Kollam year 956, on the 5th, in the solar month Tulā, which was a Tuesday and the *nakshatra* Bharaṇi and the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight (and *dvitīyā* was to begin after $12\frac{3}{4}$ *ghaṭikās*) and the yōga *nitya*, at 5 *ghaṭikas* after sun-rise, in the Makararāśi, Gōvindabrahmānanda Tīrtha ascended the pontifical seat and became the *pushpāñjali-svāmiyār* (the *sanyasin* who does worship to the image of god with flowers) of the temple of the Mahādēva at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.....The Valiya-śalai temple is situated at least 3 miles away from the sea and வேலைக்கழு காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை means the Kāndaḷūr-śālai surrounded by or situated near the sea. The same sort of description is given of Tiruvanandapuram, also another quarter of the town Trivandram, in Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, பெரியநீர்வேலை சூழ்ந்த... (திரு)வனந்தபுரம்(2), the beautiful (city of) Anantapuram surrounded by the large watery ocean. In the earliest inscriptions of Rājarāja I so far discovered dated the 8th and 10th years of the king, the only military achievement ascribed to him is the discontinuance of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. It appears therefore that the earliest known great act of Rājarāja I is the conquest of the Chēra country and the discontinuance of the various *śālais* existing in that country. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* very prominently mentions the fact of the conquest of the Udiyar-maṇḍalam (the Chēra kingdom) by Rājarāja, who, it is stated therein, was seated upon his incomparable elephant like the rising sun (upon the summit of the Udayagiri) and the performance in the conquered country of the festival of the Śatabhisha nakshatra(3). We know that the Śatabhisha nakshatra was the natal star of Rājarāja I and that he also instituted a festival of seven days' duration to the god at Tirunandikkarai in South Travancore to commence seven days earlier than the day of the Śatabhisha nakshatra in the month Aippiśi (See *Travancore Archæological Series*, *pp.* 291-292).

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(1) The original is in the Malayālam characters and in the Malayālam language : for the benefit of the Tamil knowing scholars, the inscription is here given in Tamil.

Mention is made of the temple of Kāndaḷūrśālai-Mahādēvar in an inscription in my collection (No. 16 of 1084). It reads thus :—" ஆலத்தூர்தேசத்து சுரப்புக்காட்டில் குளத்தின்கீழ் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை மாதேவர்க்கு வாரம்போக்..." "Deducting the rent due to the (god) Mahādēva of the Kandaḷūrśālai on (the lands situated in the village of) Śurappukkāḍu in the Ālattūr-dēśam."

(2) திருவாய்மொழி, 10-ம் பத்து, 2-ம் திரு., 4-ம் பாட்டு.

(3) " சதயநாள் விழா உதியர் மண்டலம்
தன்னில் வைத்தவன்றனியோர் மாவின்மே
லுதய பானுவொத்துதகைவென்ற கோ
னெருகைவாரணம் பலகவர்த்ததும் "
பா. 24, ராசபாரம்பரியம், கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி.

Herein the conquest by Rājarāja of the Udiyar-Maṇḍalam and of Udagai or Udayagiri, perhaps the important outpost of this name next to Padmanābhapuram, and the performance of the festival of Śatabisha nakshatra in the conquered country are mentioned.

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Kāndaḷūr seems to have had from very early times an important *śālai* which served as a model to all others. For, we learn from the inscription of the king Karunandaḍakkaṉ that he made arrangements for the conduct of a boarding school for Vēdic students after the model of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. In spite of Rājarāja's attempt to subvert the name of the Chēra institution, it seems to have resisted successfully the forcible attempt and continued to be conducted only in the name of these kings. For, we see Rājādhirāja and Kulōttuṅga I, repeatedly turning their attention to this *śālai* and discontinuing its maintenance in the name of the Chēras. Then, again, Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a later king of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and a contemporary of Kulōttuṅgachōla I also claims to have interfered with the Kāndaḷūr-śālai.(1)

We have already mentioned that the Chēras were always famous for their charitable feeding. Tamiḻ literature contains the praises of several ancient sovereigns of the Chēra country as great givers of food: for example, Puruñ-jōṟṟu-Udiyaṉ-Śēral Ādaṉ is said to have fed the contending armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas in the great Mahābhārata War.(2)

Another ancient king called Imayavarambaṉ I *alias* Neduñ-chēral-Adaṉ is said to have been so enthusiastic in offering food to all those that visited him, that owing to the enormous number of his guests he felt a shortage of hands for adequately supplying their wants and consequently urged even the high-placed ladies of his household to work in the kitchen. He is further described as one who could not endure people being insufficiently fed. The Chēra King Śelvakkaḍuṅ-gō-vāḻiy-Ādaṉ was a great patron of the brāhmaṇas. He was ever busy arranging for the brāhmaṇas performing yāgas in his country.

This ancient *ūṭṭuppurai* institution, which was maintained out of the rich donations made for the purpose by liberal kings and pious individuals in the past, under government supervision, remained from time immemorial the just pride of the kings of the Malabar Coast; but owing to the stress of modern civilization and perhaps other circumstances such as financial, the *ūṭṭuppurais* in the Cochin and Travancore States have been mostly abolished within the past ten years. It is this gratis feeding of the indigent poor that earned for these two Native States the name of Dharmarājya, by which name it is even now referred to by people outside these States.

## Text.

1. [ஹஸ்திஸ்ரீ] [॥*] திருமகள் போலப் பெருநிலச்செல்வியுந் தனக்கே யுரி-
2. மை பூண்டமை மனக்கொளக் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளிக் க-
3. ங்கபாடியும் னுளம்பர்பாடி[யு]ம்(3) தடியர்பாடி உம்(4) வேங்கைநாடும் கு-
4. டகமலைநாடுந்(5) தண்டாற்(க்)கொண்டு தன்னெழில் விளங்க வீழியில் எல்லாயா-

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(1) "காந்தளூர் மண்டோற்ற வேந்தர்மறம்" Śuvaaṉ Māṟaṉ *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ, the feudatory of the Pallava kings Paramēśvaravarman II and his successor Nandivarman Pallavamalla, appears to have defeated the combined armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras at Kāndaḷūr. See the *Journal of the S.I. Assn. Vol. II.* pp. 8, 16 & 20.

(2) "ஓரைவ ரீரைம் பதின்ம ருடன்றெழுந்த போரிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்ரூது தானளித்த சேரன் பொறையன்மலையன்."

(3) Read துளம்பர்பாடியும்.

(4) Read தடியர்பாடியும்; other inscriptions of Rājarāja call this country as தடிகைபாடி.

(5) Other inscriptions have குடமலைநாடு, a name which appears in the text of சிலப்பதிகாரம்; Aḍiyārkkunallār, its commentator renders this name in his commentary unvariably into குடகமலைநாடு. Thus it appears குடமலைநாடு is the older form of குடகமலைநாடு.

வாழ்த்துகாதை, சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

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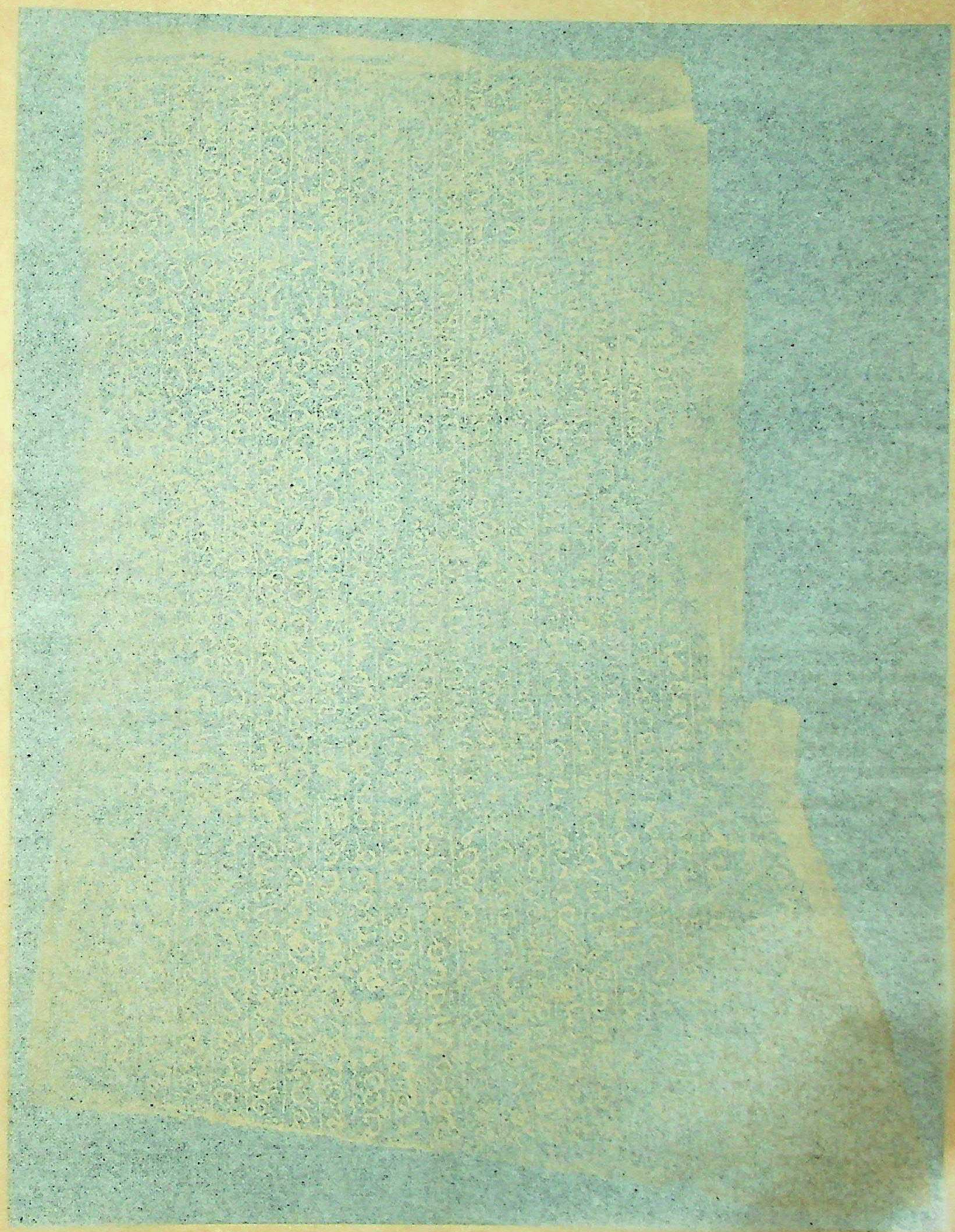

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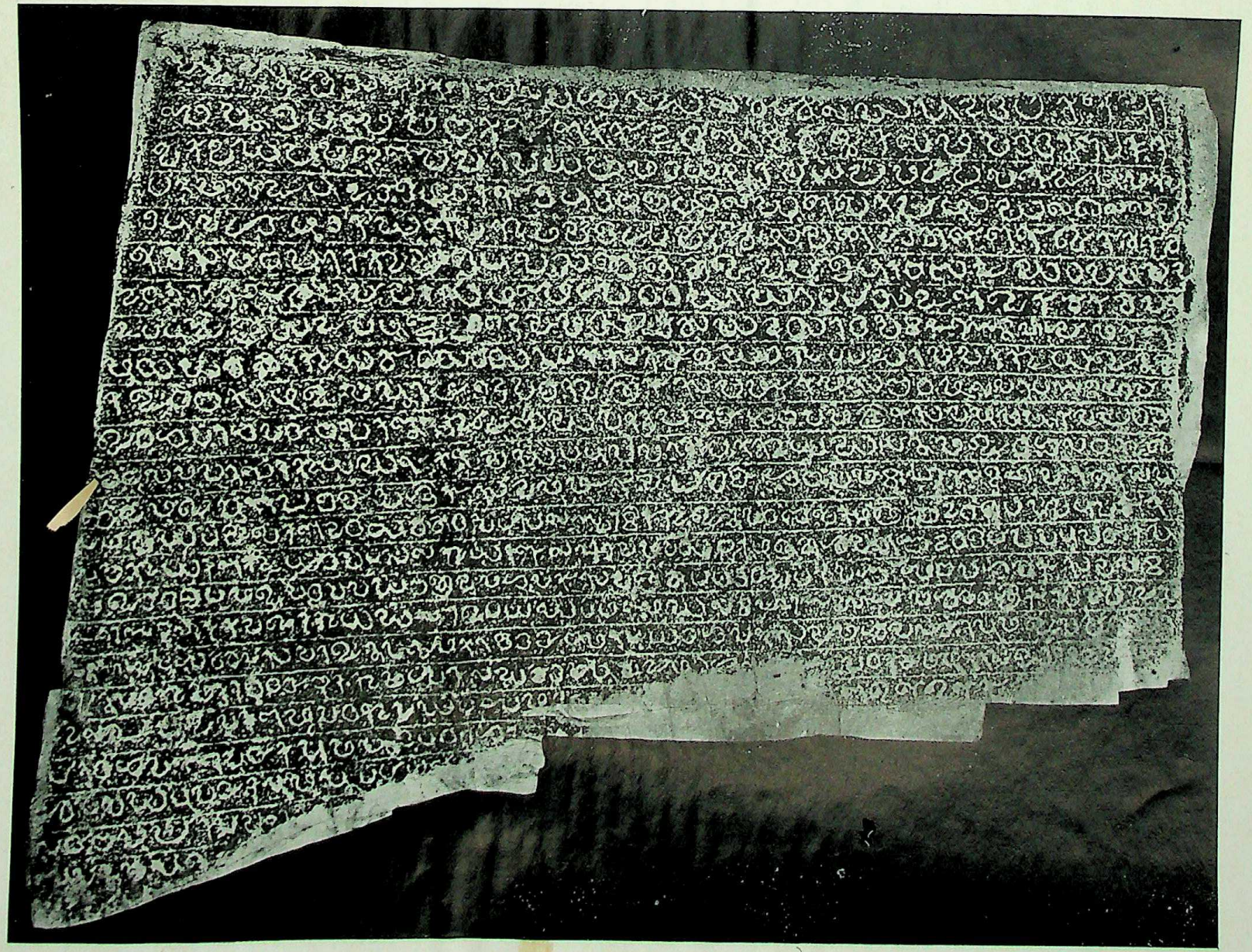
# SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.



T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE 0. 1. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

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5. ண்டுந் தொழுதகவிளங்கும் யாண்டே(ய்) செழியரை தேசுகொள் கோஇராச ராச-

6. கேசரி[வ]ன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு பதினைஞ்சு [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு கன்னி நாயிற்று முப்பதா-

7. ந்[தியதி] செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை பெற்ற புரவிரட்டாதி நாள் இராசராசவள-

8. நாட்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு ஸ்ரஹ்மதெயம் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து உஹா-[*] ஸபையோம் காள்-

9. மூதிவி[ச்சு]க் குறிசாத்தி[த்தி]ருவக்கிர சாலையிற் கூட்டம் நிரம்பக்கூடி இருக்-

10. க[।*] இதன்கீழ் இவ்வூர் மா[தெவ]ற்கு ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய்கின்ற மு(மூ)ல பரடஸபையார்

11. இத்தேவர் தேவதானங்களுக்கு இறையிறுக்க[உ]ண்ணாதென்றும்(1) ஸ்ரீகாரியமும் ஆராய[உ]ண்ணா-(1)

12. தென்றும் பரடைக்குடியிலாகளா(ய்)யிட்டுப் பரடைக்குடியிலாரும் இத்தேவற்கு இ-

13. றையும் இறுக்க[உ]ண்ணாது(1) ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய ஊண்ணாதென்றும்(1) உஹா [*] ஸபையார் கை(ய்)வி-

14. ட்[டே]டாம் [॥*] விடநாங்க[ளை]ந்(2) தனிச்சுத்துடரில் ஸ்வாமிக்கு ஒரு-பத்தைங்கழஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவதாக-

15. வும் [॥*] குடிகள் துடரில் குடிகளால் ஐ(ய்)ம்பதின் கழஞ்சு செய்தர பொந்தண்டப்படுவதாகவு-

16. ம்[॥*] இத்தண்டம் இறுத்துப் பின்னையும் தேவகாரியஞ்சுட்டித் துடராய் போமென்று தேவகாரியம் உ-

17. ஹாஸபைக்கு இக்குடியிலா[ரை] ஒட்டி விட்டமையில் உஹாஸபையோம் செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரிய[மாவது].

18. [ஸபை]யோம் வைச்ச வாரியர் இரு[வரு]ம் கரணத்தானும் கூடி தேவகாரியம் செய்வதாகவும் [।*] இவ்வாரிய[ர்]

19. இருவற்கும்(3) கரணத்தானுக்கும் பேரால் நியதம் [அய்]நாழி... பதகு(4) மாழாக்கு இ.....

20. நெல்லும் இவ[ர்*]கள் மூவற்கும் வீட்டைமுதல்.....கள் ஓரோ ஓரோகா.....

21. செய்து விடுவதாகவும்[॥*] ஆட்டாட்டை.....

22. வதானம் ஊரவ.....

(END BUILT IN).

(1) Read ஒண்ணாது.
(2) Read நாங்களே.
(3) Read இருவர்க்கும்.
(4) Read பதக்கு.

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## Translation.

Ll. 1-10. Be it well! Prosperity! In the fifteenth year of (the reign of) the king **Rājarājakēsarivarman**, who, keeping the fact in his mind that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become all his own, was pleased to discontinue the feeding (*kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi*) at Kāndaḷūr; whose prowess was glowing by having taken with his army Gaṅgapāḍi, the Nuḷambarpāḍi (the country of the Nuḷambas), the Taḍiyarpāḍi (the country of the Taḍiyar), Vēṅgaināḍu and Kuḍagamalaināḍu; who abstracted the glory of the Śeḷiyar (the Pāṇḍyas) in that (very) year which was worthy of being worshipped by the other years as the year in the (whole of) eternity;—on the **thirtieth day** of the month **Kaṉṉi** (which was a) **Tuesday** and (the nakshatra) **Puraviraṭṭādi** (Pūrvāshāḍha), while we the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Suchindram, a *brahmadēśa* (a village granted to brāhmaṇas and inhabited by them) belonging to Nāñjināḍu (a sub-division) of the Rājarājavaḷanāḍu, having blown the horn (*kāḷam*) convened a full meeting of the *kuṟi* (*sabhā*) which assembled in the *agra-śālā* (dining hall in the temple).

Ll. 10-14. In this meeting we, the members of the *mūlaparaḍai-sabhā*, who are managing the business of (the temple of) the (god) Mahādēvar of this village, informing that it was impossible for us (hereafter) to pay the rent on the lands belonging to the temple (*dēvadāna*) nor was it possible for us to manage the business (of the temple); and that it was impossible (even) for the tenants of the *paraḍai* (*paraḍaiyil-kuḍiyilār*) to pay rent nor to manage the business, made over (the charge of the rent recovery and the management of the business of the temple) in the hands of the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 14-15. Having (now) left off (these responsibilities), if any one of us singly lay any claim, such an one shall suffer a fine of ten *kaḻañjus* of gold; if (on the other hand, any) one of the tenants should make any claim, that one shall submit oneself to a fine of fifty *kaḻañjus* of gold.

Ll. 16-17. We further renounced in favour of the *mahāsabhā* our claims on the management of the god's business (fearing) that even after paying down the said fine, (some one) might lay pretensions (to the right of management, etc.); and (therefore) made these tenants subject to the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 17-20. Thereupon we, (the members of) the *mahāsabhā* made the following arrangement: the two *vāriyars* and a *karaṇattāṉ* appointed by the *mahāsabhā* should manage the business of the god; (for which) five *nāḻis*.....*padakku* and *āḻākku*.....paddy.....

(The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and cannot be translated).

## No. 2. AN INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved upon two sides of a single copper-plate, and was through the perseverance of my pandit Mr. V. Srinivāsa Sāstri, Smritiviśārada, brought to light. It is said to belong to the Talamana Illam near Changanāśēri.

The document is incomplete; there ought to be at least one more plate which is not forthcoming. The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of the same kind as that found in the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Paṇḍya. Both the vertical and the slanting varieties of letters have been used indiscriminately in the writing,—a fact evidencing the statement made by me elsewhere that the verticality or the slantness of the letters does not form a criterion for the determination of the age of a Vaṭṭeḻuttu document, as was supposed by some epigraphists. The peculiarities of the alphabet of this type have been commented upon by the editor of the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman in some detail in his paper on this grant and by me in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I,

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p. 286 and need not therefore be reiterated here. A number of Sanskrit words, *e.g.*, *Nama-śśivāyaḥ*, *Śrī Rāja-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka Rājaśekharadēvarkku* in *l.*1 ; *Rājaśēkharadēvar* in *l.*2 and *Mātri-parigrahamu* in *l.* 5 occur in this document and these are written in the Grantha characters, which are somewhat later than the alphabet of the "Kāśākuḍi" and other early Pallava grants : but more nearly akin to those of the fragmentary record published by me in the *Travancore Archæological Series* on pp. 198-200.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a king hitherto unknown to history. He is called Ṟājaśēkharadēva and bears the imperial titles *Śrīrāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* ; in the 12th year of the reign of this king an arrangement was made by the people of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and the townsmen of Vāḷaippaḷḷi who assembled under the presidency of the king Rājaśēkharadēva. It was resolved in the meeting (1) that those who hinder the performance of the firmly established *bali* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) should be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *dināra*, and be considered to have committed the sin of having married their own mothers, (2) that the servants who let the ceremony fall in desuetude should be also obliged to pay each a fine of.....*nāḻis* of paddy each time the ceremony was stopped on account of their negligence. The paddy obtained as *padavāram* should be added on to the amount set apart for the *śānti* or *pūjā*, and (the remaining) nine parts for the *bali* ceremony. The paddy levied as fine was made payable to the temple before the midday *bali* of the day of the Pushya nakshatra, perhaps of each month. If the fine was not paid in due time, the delinquent should be subjected to twice the fine from the day of default. (3) The following plots of land were given to the (god) of Kailāsa (*Kaīlādam-uḍaiyaṇār*) namely, (*a*) *Kīraṇ-kaḍambaṇār-kari* yielding ten and fifteen *kalams* of paddy respectively in alternate years, (*b*) *Maṇḍila-kaḷam* and *Uḷa[śē]li* yielding ten *kalams*, (*c*) *Kaḷḷāṭṭu-vāy-vēli* of five hundred *nāḻis* (*c*) *Kāñjikkā* yielding five hundred *nāḻis*, (*d*) *Ūragam* and *Pīlikkōṭṭu-puraiyiḍam* and the adjoining *puraiyiḍam* belonging to Śaṅkarī, (the daughter) of the Kāvadi, Kaṇṇaṇ, yielding a hundred and fifty *tūṇis* of paddy and three *dināras*. (*e*) Two *vēlis* in the *maṟṟam* in the Aiyaṅkāḍu.....Dāmō (daraṇ).....

One of the notable facts in the document is the mention of the coin *dināra*, the *dinarius* of the Romans, which probably was current so late as the time of the record under discussion.

The age of the king Rājaśēkhara cannot be exactly determined at present, as the date given in the document is merely the regnal year of the king ; but from the palæographical standpoint, we may confidently state that it cannot be later than the 9th century nor earlier than the 8th century A. D. The name Chennittalai Aḍigaḷ Irāyaśēkharan occurs also in the Huzur Treasury Plates belonging to the temple of Tiruvallā, as a past donor to that temple ; from the palæography, this latter document can be assigned to the 9th—10th century A.D.

The discovery of this record is of very great importance for the history of Kēraḷa as also that of Saṅskṛit literature. Hitherto we had no document of the early kings of Malainaḍu. That Rājaśēkhara was indeed a real Chēra king could be inferred from the imperial titles borne by him, from the grant of lands made by him in the vicinity of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy in the heart of Kēraḷa and from the fact that the persons who attended the meeting convened by him were residents of the eighteen districts surrounding Vāḷaippaḷḷi (a suburb of the modern Changanāśēri), another place very near Tiruvāṟṟuvāy, also in Kēraḷa. As we have already observed, the palæography of the inscription does not warrant us to assign the record to a period earlier than A.D. 750 or later than 850 ; there is therefore an irresistible temptation to consider the question of the identity of this king with Rājaśēkhara the celebrated Saṅskṛit poet. It is a fact too well known to the students of Saṅskṛit literature that Mādhavāchārya in his *Śaṅkaravijaya* mentions a person named Rājaśēkhara and calls him a king of Kēraḷa and states

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that he presented three *nāṭakas* of his own composition to the great *advaita* teacher Śaṅkarāchārya. But the author of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* does not mention the names of the three dramas. In a later work called *Jagad-guru-ratnamālā-stava* which gives an account of the *svāmis* of the *Kamakōṭi-pīṭha* or the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha of Śaṅkarāchārya, and which is based upon several earlier accounts such as the *Śaṅkaravijayas* of Ānandagiri and Mādhavāchārya, the author Sadāśiva-brahmēndra has the following verse :

कृतसट्टकसत्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायावरराजशेखरान्धम् ।
हृतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्तिं व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

We know from some copper-plate grants belonging to the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha that the author, Sadāśivendrasarasvati lived in the second half of the 16th century A.D. and the commentator of this work *Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvati* was the co-disciple of the author. He comments upon the verse thus :

कृतेति कृतं सट्टकं कर्पूरमञ्जरीनामापरूपकं येन कृतसट्टकः त्रिनाट्यबन्धे बालरामायणप्रचण्ड-पाण्डवविद्धसालभञ्जिकाख्यरूपकत्रयविरचनेन योव्रतः नियमस्तेन सहितास्त्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतः सचयः यायावरराज-शेखरः तदाख्यः कविः तस्यान्ध्यमपाटवमक्ष्णोरागन्तुकत्वादिति ज्ञेयम् ॥

From this we are informed that the Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara was the author of *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī* and that his blindness was cured by Gaṅgādharavrati, third in descent, according to this authority, from Abhinava Śaṅkara.

But some of the following internal evidences and facts seem to militate against such a supposition.

(1) That he was the *guru* of a king named Mahēndrapāla *alias* Nirbhaya.

(2) He, being called *guru*, *upādhyāya*, &c., titles which are generally borne by brāhmaṇas, is believed to be a brāhmaṇa ; also, because he is said to have belonged to the Chāhamānakula (the Chōhans) he should be taken to be only a Kshatriya.

(3) He mentions Akālajaladā, the Mahārāshṭra Chūḍāmaṇi, as his great-grandfather and he also states that one of his ancestors was Surānanda of Chēdimaṇḍala.

(4) He mentions Mahōdaya as his capital. He also mentions the name Kanyākubya and Gādhipura, which are synonyms of Mahōdaya.

(5) He makes mention in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of the following authors. Bhāvabhūti, Meṇṭha, Śaṅkaravarman, Taraḷa and Kavirāja ; and in the *Karpūramañjari*, the author of Mṛigaṅgalēkha, Aparājita, Hala (Śātavāhana, the author of *Bṛihat-kathā*), Hariśchandra, Nandi-chandra and Kōṭīśa. Of these Śaṅkaravarman and Aparājita appear to have been the contemporaries of Rājaśēkhara.

(6) Rājaśēkhara refers to the *Āścharyamañjarī*, a work of Kulaśēkhara and we know this work was written by the same Kulaśēkhara who wrote the *Tapatī-Saṁvaraṇa*.

(7) A verse is quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvaḷi* as being that of Rājaśēkhara ; it mentions that a person named Raṇavigraha was the contemporary of Rājaśēkhara.

In (2) the name Chāhamāna might well be a mislection of the word Chēramāna ; and the mislection might have been suggested by the more modern and prominent dynasty of the Chōhan Rajputs, and the name Chēramāna of an important dynasty of ancient kings of Drāviḍa is almost forgotten in more recent times. That he is dubbed *guru* and *upādhyāya* and that he was a Yāyāvara does not militate against his being a kshatriya and a king of Kēraḷa. For, from the very

TABLE OF VATTELUTTU LETTERS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

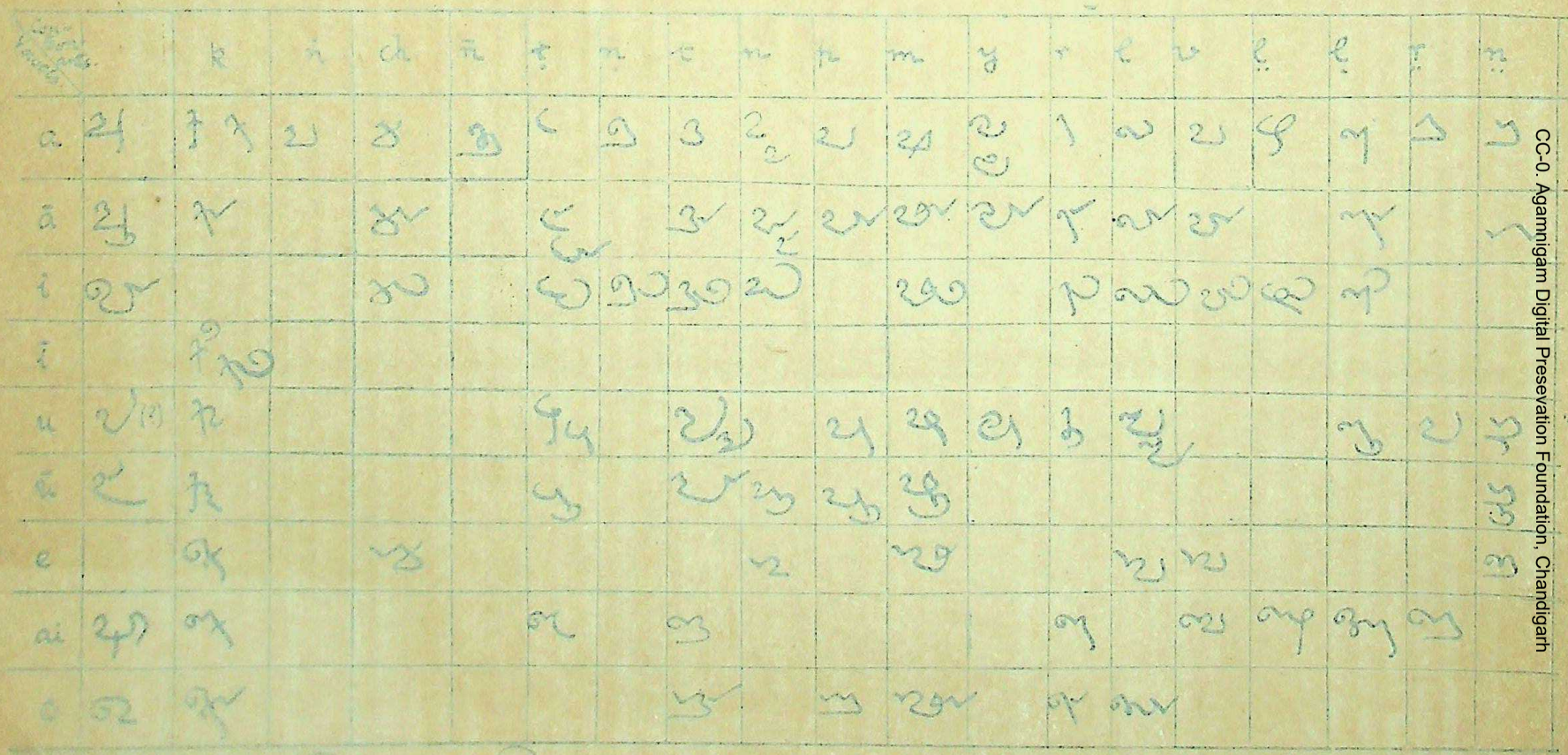

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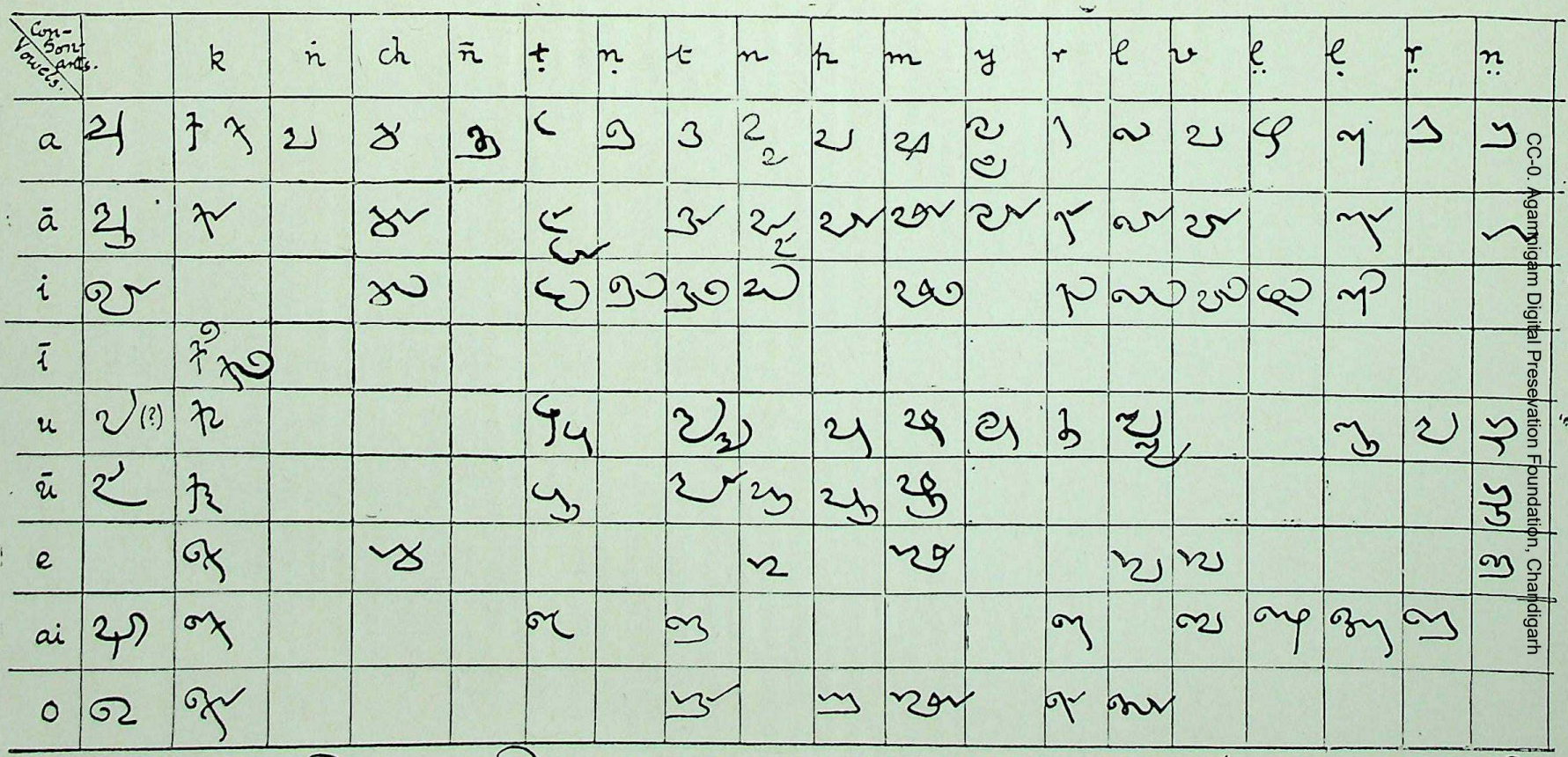
TABLE OF VATTELUTTU LETTERS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.




നമശ്ശിവായഃ ശ്രീ॥രാജാ॥രാജപരമേശ്വര॥ഭട്ടാരക॥രാജശേഖരദേവർക്കു = namaśśivāyaḥ
śrī rājarājādhi rājaparamēśvara bhaṭṭāraka Rājaśēkharadēvarkku.
മാതൃപരിഗ്രഹം = māṭṛiparigṛiham.

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earliest times, the kshatriya women were consorting with Brāhmaṇas, more especially in Kēraḷa, and the Kēraḷīya kings had and have practically been leading the life of brāhmaṇas, studying all *śāstras* and teaching them also to students who went to them for tuition. Again, after they had attained a certain age these kings abdicated the throne in favour of their juniors and led the life of *Vānaprasthas* or *Yāyāvaras*. No more prominent example of this could be quoted than the abdication a year ago of the highly cultured Rājā of Cochin, who is now devoting his well-earned repose to the pursuit of his favourite study, the Vēdānta. Hence Rājaśēkhara might very well have been a *guru* and a *upādhyāya* and yet be a kshatriya and *yāyāvara*. That his capital was Mahōdaya (4) need not drive us to seek his kingdom elsewhere in Northern India. Mahōdaya is the name of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam or Koḍuṅgōḷūr (the modern Cranganore). This Tiruvañjaikkaḷam, the ancient seat of the Chēramāṉ-perumāḷs is actually referred to by the name Mahōdaya or Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇam in medieval Tamiḻ literature as also in a number of epigraphical records.* That Rājaśēkhara mentions the names Kanyākubya and Gādhipura, the synonyms of the North Indian Mahōdaya is but natural; for, what places more important than Mahōdaya of the north is worth being visited by his hero Rāma on his way down to South India? But in the portion where the Sītā-svayamvara occurs in the Bālarāmāyaṇa, while he mentions such kings as those of Karnāṭaka, Kāñchīpura and Siṁhala as having attended it, he does not mention the king of Kēraḷa as one of them. As suggested by my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Mēnōn, B.A., B.L., the omission was due perhaps out of modesty, if we take Rājaśēkhara the poet himself to be the then king of Kēraḷa. His mention of Akālajaladā, the Mahārāshṭrachūḍāmaṇi and Surānanda of the Chēdimaṇḍala (3), kings of two different royal families as his paternal ancestors appears absurd unless we take that the descent is traced in the female line. In the latter case the father and other ancestors may belong to different families, the marital tie having been of the same type as in the modern *sambandham* or the Gāndharva form. This mention of members of two families as his ancestors clearly shows that Rājaśēkhara belonged to a community, whose women were following the Gāndharva form of marriage which was at one time universal in the Drāviḍa country and which had become by the time of our record peculiar only to Malabar. In confirmation of the hypothesis that Rājaśēkhara was a Kēraḷīya we have one more fact. It is the mention of the god Padmanābha, one of the most famous deities of Malaināḍu and the tutelary deity of the Mahārājas of Travancore, who traces his lineage from the Chēramans, in his *Bālarāmāyana*. The verse in which the name occurs runs thus:—

निश्शेषं काश्यपाय कृतविधिगुरवे दक्षिणीकृत्य पृथ्वीं
काण्डैर्ज्योतिश्शिखण्डैर्मधुरिपुशयनेप्यस्तवान् वारि येभ्यः।
तानेलानाळिकेरीक्रमुकफणिलताराजरम्भावनन्ता-
नम्भोधेर्गर्भभागानधिवसति सदा भार्गवो भर्गशिष्यः॥

Mr. Padmanābha Mēnōn believes that Malabar was the land inhabited by the race of people known as the Nāgas and hence the people of the present day are known as Nāyars (a

* Compare "மலைநாட்டு...பழம்பதிதான்...திருவஞ்சைக்களமு நிலவிய சேரர்குலக்கோ வீற் றிருந்து முறைபுரியுங்குலக் கோமூதூர் கொடுங்கோளூர்" (v. 1), "மதில்சூழ்...வளநகர் தான் கோதை யரசர் மகோதையெனக்குலவு பெயருமுடைத்துலகில்" (v. 4), "பொன்னிவளநாடகன்று மகோதை யினின் மேற்புக்கால்..." (174), பெரியபுராணம், கழற்றறிவார்புராணம்.

'*Magōdaiyarpaṭṭiṇattu Iravikorttan*'. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 294-5. '*Malaimaṇḍala—[ttu] Magōdayarpaṭṭaṇattu Īrāyiran Śiriyān*'. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 198.

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corruption of Nāgas): he finds in another verse of the work quoted above a reference to the Nāgakanyās of Kēraḷa and to the Pāṇḍya king: the verse is as follows:—

यत्कीर्त्ति मलयाद्रिचन्दनलताकुञ्जे भुजङ्गाङ्गनाः
श्रुत्वा तच्छबरीजनात्फणिपतेर्गायन्ति यं गीतिषु ।
पाण्ड्यस्सोयमुदन्वन्यवृषाकिण्मान्यदस्यस्वयं
दातुं मौक्तिककामधेनुरसमा सा ताम्रपर्णी सरित् ॥

So much in support of the Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara being identified with the poet of the same name. Let us now turn our attention to the other side of the question.

If Rājaśēkhara was, as he says, the great-grandson of the Mahārāshtra-chūdāmaṇi Akālajaladā, a name which must be taken to be a synonym of Akālavarsha, he must be the great-grandson of either Kṛishṇa I, Kṛishṇa II or Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, all three of whom being Akālavarshas. These kings lived in about A. D. 750, 898-912, and 950 respectively. Of these, Kṛishṇa the first, is perhaps the only one who could have been the great-grandfather of Rājaśēkhara, while the other two Kṛishṇas, being rather later in point of time, cannot be his great-grandfather as will be presently demonstrated. The mention of Śaṅkaravarman, who appears to be Śaṅkaragaṇa *alias* Raṇavigraha of the Kalachūri dynasty of Chēdi (5) as his contemporary brings down the age of Rājaśēkhara to A. D. 940-950. And Aparājita another of his contemporaries has to be identified with the Śilahāra prince of that name, who is said to have lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. The age of the various persons mentioned by Rājaśēkhara as his contemporaries distinctly show that Rājaśēkhara the poet, though he might be a Kēraḷīya king, must have lived long after Śaṅkarāchārya who is known to have flourished in the earlier decades of the 9th century A.D. He cannot also be identified therefore with the king Rājaśēkhara of the document under consideration: for, his age from the palæography is not so late as A.D. 950. We should therefore assign a later period to the poet Rājaśēkhara and if it is possible to identify him with a Kēraḷa king, then the second and later king Rājaśēkhara should be a successor in the line of the Rājaśēkhara of our record and very likely be also his nephew and successor.

The editor of the *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇa* takes its author, Kulaśēkhara, to be the Śrīvaishṇava saint of the same name; if this surmise be correct, Rājaśēkhara the poet who quotes the *Āścharyamañjari*, another work which is attributed to the author of the *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇa* should have lived only after Kulaśēkharāḻvār. The Honourable Mr. L. D. Swāmikkaṇṇu Piḷḷai has, from the calculation made from the astronomical details furnished by the *guruparamparās* of the Śrīvaishṇavas for the birth of this *āḻvār*, arrived at A.D. 766-767. Hence Rājaśēkhara should have lived sometime after A.D. 767 (6).

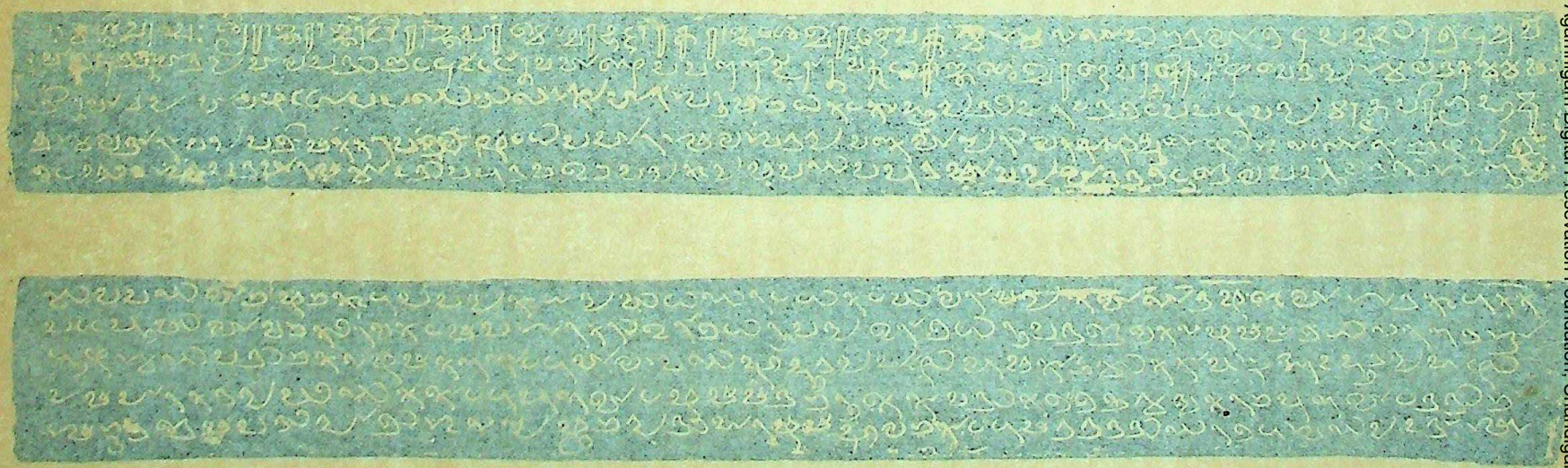
To sum up—

(i) the king Rājaśēkhara of the copper-plate under notice was different from Rājaśēkhara the poet;

(ii) that he lived about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., which is the period in which Śaṅkarāchārya flourished and that therefore he might have very likely known and seen the *āchārya*;

(iii) that if the poet Rājaśēkhara was a Kēraḷa king he should have been later in point of time than the Rājaśēkhara of our document, and might perhaps be his successor;

INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.



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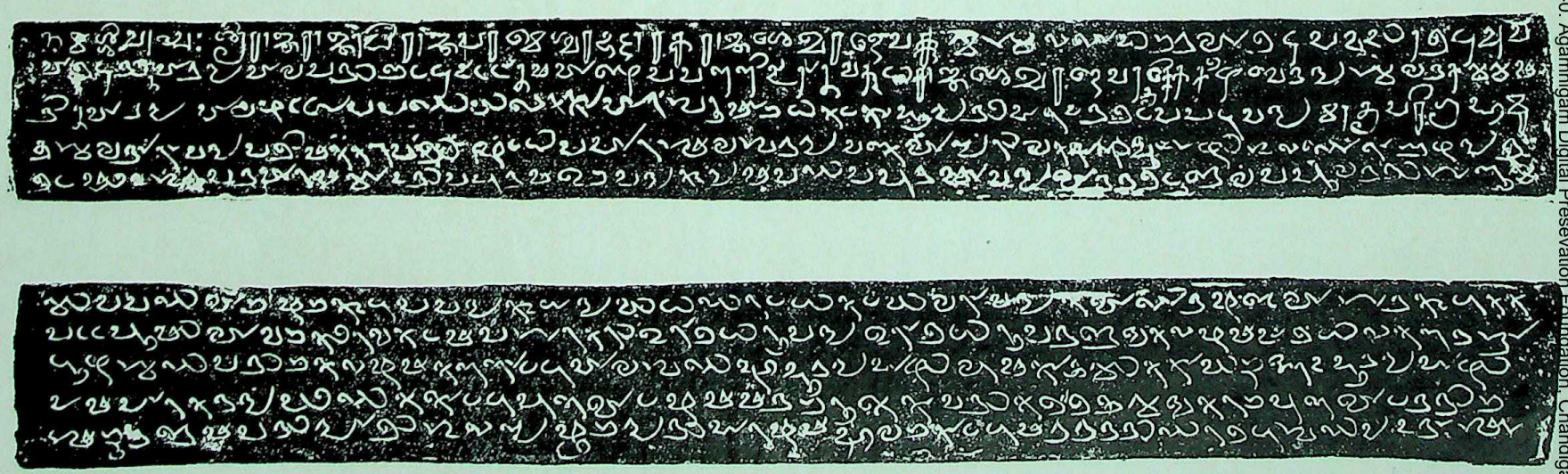

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(iv) and that the poet should have lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.

Thus, there appears to be some foundation for the faith that at the time of Śaṅkarāchārya there lived in Kēraḷa a king named Rājaśēkhara, though he might not have been the author, according to this tradition, of three dramas and other works.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and Vāḻaippaḷḷi ; of these the latter is a flourishing suburb of the town of Cheṅganāśēri and has an old Śiva temple with some excellent wood-carvings in it.

## Text.(1)

*First Side.*

1. நமஶ்ஶிவாயஃ [॥*] ஸ்ரீராஜராஜாயிராஜபரமேஶ்வர பட்டாரக ராஜஶேவர தெவக்கு-ச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு பந்[நி]ரண்டு [।*] அவ்-
2. வாண்டு தி[ரு]வாற்றுவாய் பதினெட்டு நாட்டாரும் வாழைப்பள்ளி ஊராருங் கூடி ராஜஶேவரதேவர் [த்ரு]தக்கி(2) க்கீழ்வைத்து செய்த கச்சம்[॥*].
3. திருவாற்றுவாய் முட்டாப்பலி விலக்குவார் பெருமானடிகட்கு நூறுதிநாரந்தண்டப்படுவது [।*] மாத்ருபரிக்ரஹமு-
4. ஞ்செய்தாராவது [॥*] பணிமக்கள் முட்டிப்பார் மெய்வேற்று வகையாலுரிய்க் கொளி ஆனாழி(3) நெல்லொரொபொழுது த-
5. ண்டமிந்நெற் பதவாரம் சாந்திப்புறம் [।*] ஒன்பது கூறும் பலிப்புறமாவது [॥*] இத்தண்ட[ந்](4) தைய்ப்பூயத்தினாளுச்-

*Second Side.*

6. சிப்பலிஇன்முன்(5) குடுப்பது[॥*] குடாதுவிடிலிரட்டி கடவியராவது [॥*] கஇலாத(6) முடையானாற்கு குடுக்க-
7. பட்டபூமியாவன [।*] கீரங்கடம்பனார்கரி ஓராண்டிருபது ஓராண்டிருபத்தைங்கலமும் [।*] மண்டிலகளத்தோ-
8. ழேசேலி(7) பதின்கலமும் [।*] கள்ளாட்டுவாய் வேலி ஐநூற்று நாழியும் [।*] காஞ்சிக்காவினுளைந்நூற்றுநாழி-
9. உம் [।*](8) ஊரகத்து பீலிக்கோட்டு புரைஇடமு(ம்) மதனருகே காவதிகண்ணஞ் சங்கரன் புரை இடத்தின்-

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(1) From both the original and the impressions.
(2) Perhaps திருவடிக்கீழ்வைத்து.
(3) Read நானாழி.
(4) Read தைப்பூசத்தினாள் ; this ṇā is engraved below the line.
(5) Read பலியின்முன்.
(6) Read கைலாச முடையானாற்கு.
(7) Is it உழ வேலி ?
(8) Read நாழியும்.

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10 மேனூற்றைம் பதி(1) தூணி நெல்லு மூன்று திகாரமும் [1*] ஐயன்காட்டு மற்றத்திலிரண்டு வேலியுந்(2) தாமோ-

(INCOMPLETE).

## Translation.

Line 1. Adoration to Śiva. The year twelve (of the reign) of the prosperous king Rājaśēkharadēva (who bore the *birudas*) Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka (was current),

Line 2. (The following was) the arrangement made by the men of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvārṟuvāy and the townsmen of Vāḻaippaḷḷi who met under the presidency of (literally at the feet of) Rājaśēkharadēva.

Line 3. Those who stop the perpetually endowed *bali* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) in the Tiruvārṟuvāy (temple) should pay to the king (or the god?) a fine of one hundred *dināras;* and (are to be considered) as having taken their (own) mothers for their wives.

Line 4. Among the servants, those who stop (the *bali* owing to their own negligence), should each pay a fine of paddy as measured by and made up to four *nāḻis* for each occasion (the *bali* is so stopped).

Lines 5-6. Of this the paddy due as *padavāram*(3) should go to the capital (set apart) for the *śānti* and the (remaining) nine parts for the *bali*. (And) this fine should be remitted before the midday *bali* of the Pushyanakshatra in the month of Tai. If not so paid, they become liable to pay twice the amount. The following are the lands given to the (god in the shrine named?) Kailāsa: the plot (*kari*, belonging to), Kīrāṅkaḍambaṉār, which yields one year twenty and another year twenty-five *kalams* (of paddy); Maṇḍilakkaḷam together with *Uḻaśēli* yielding ten *kalams;* Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy-vēli (or a plot of land one *veli* in extent in Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy), yielding five hundred *nāḻis;* from Kāñjikkā, five hundred *nāḻis;* from the gardens (*puraiyiḍam* named) Pīlikkōḍu and the garden belonging to Kaṇṇaṉ Śaṅkaraṇ who held the position of a *kāvadi* (accountant) which adjoins it (Pīlikkoḍu puraiyidam), both situated in Ūragam and yielding one hundred and fifty *tūṇi* of paddy and three *dināras;* two *vēlis* in the land *(maṟṟam)* in Ayyaṅkāḍu, Dāmōdaran's.....

(1) Read தூற்றைம்பதின்தூணி.

(2) Read வேலியும்.

(3) This word occurs also in an inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman at Tirukkākkarai. Its exact meaning however is not known. Compare with this word, the *kō-ppadavāram* and the *padippadavāram* occurring in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam.

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## NO. 3. INSCRIPTION OF VĪRA-PĀṆḌYADĒVA AT SUCHĪNDRAM.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the natural rock situated in the first *prākāra* of the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. The space on the rock on which this epigraph is engraved was first ruled and between every two lines the writing is executed. There are on the whole thirty lines of writing in a fairly good state of preservation. The inscription is written in Tamiḻ and Grantha characters and in the Tamiḻ language. The few Saṅskṛit words, such as *Svasti Śrī* (*l.*1) *Vīrasiṁhāsana* (*l.*6), *Trailōkhya* (*l.*6), *tribhuvaṇa-chchakṛavarttigaḷ Śrī Vīrapāṇḍyadēvar abhishēka* (*l.*7), *Rāsitāgōttrattu*, *Āślāyana-sūttrattu* (*l.*8), *tiruv-āyushyārtthamāha* (*ga*) (*l.*11), *dānam* (*ll.*12 and 18), *Suchīndram* (*ll.*18 and 30) and *prasādam* (*ll.*21 and 28), &c., are written in the Grantha alphabet. The letters, both Grantha and Tamiḻ, resemble very closely those of the time of Kuḷōttuṅgachōḷa I (compare the Plates given in S. I. I. Vol. III, Part II and in *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I, plate facing the text of the Cape Comorin inscription of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya) and might therefore be assigned to the eleventh or the twelfth century A.D.; they are clearly earlier than the alphabet employed in the Śrīraṅgam inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III (see also the plate that accompanies his article on that inscription).

The inscription has an introduction (*mey-kkīrti* in Tamiḻ) which claims only one act of valour to its hero, Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely his subjugation of the Malaināḍu. Since the epigraph is engraved at the time of the coronation or a few days later, the military achievement of the king referred to above must have taken place before his coronation. As there was nothing more to add to the credit of the newly crowned king in his introduction, the poet has, as usual with the Pāṇḍya records of the medieval period, introduced the traditional doings of the earlier Pāṇḍyas of the semi-historical period attributing them to his hero: for instance it is stated that he fought in the Mahābhārata (!), went on an embassy for the sake of some kings (perhaps the Pāṇḍavas, as the word *kings* is in the plural number), fought in the battles between the *Dēvas* and the *Asuras*, wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra), and learnt the Tamiḻ literature from Agastya. The Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates also claim practically the same achievement for the earlier members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty; "the inscription next proceeds to mention the achievements of Pāṇḍya kings in the past without giving any names. Among these may be mentioned the churning of the ocean for nectar; appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace; mastering the Tamil language; bringing back the sea; obtaining the titles Pūḻiyaṉ and Pañchavaṉ; founding the city of Madura and fortifying it; excelling paṇdits in learning Tamiḻ and Saṅskṛit; .....engraving the fish, the tiger and the bow on Mount Mēru;..... translating the Mahābhārata into Tamiḻ....." The earlier inscription of Rājasiṁha II, recorded on the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates, is much more modest than the record under discussion; the former claims for one of the ancestors of Rājasiṁha II only the credit of having got the Mahābhārata translated in Tamiḻ (*Mahābhāratam Tamiḻ-ppaḍuttiyum*), but does not make him figure as party in the war.

The document is not dated for obvious reasons: for, it was practically of the first few weeks of the first year of the reign of the king. There is neither the title Jaṭāvarman nor Māravarman prefixed to the name; there is simply the phrase *kō-mudal-korṟavaṉmarāṉa* in their stead. The record, while incidentally referring to the coronation of the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva (*abhishēkam*), states that for ensuring long life to the king, certain land-grant was made to the god at Suchīndram. At the time when he made this grant, the following persons were present with the king: Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēndaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu Nambi of the Rāsitāgōtra (?) and the

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Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Piḷḷaiyār Vīrakēraḷadēvar and Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṉār the *uttara-mantrin*. The land granted was called the Adavōḍu-tōṭṭam and it was situated near the village of Pūśaṅkuḍi in the Puṟattāyanāḍu of the southern division (*teṉkuṟṟu*). The boundaries of the Adavōḍu garden were: on the east, the *nīrnakkal* of the *Pādari-tōṭṭam;* on the south, the stone pit (quarry); on the west, the well situated near the plot of the land known as the *karkaṟai-vayal* in Pullāḷaṅkuṟichchi and on the north, the *kaḍambu* (tree) on *karaḍi-kumbal* (perhaps a heap of boulders); this garden had two tanks in it, as also some uncleared land (*kāḍu*) belonging to it and the whole measured seven *vēlis* in extent. The taxes on it were abolished and the land was granted as an *iṟaiyili* and so as to include in it the right of *kārāṇmai;* the previous occupants were expelled and its old name was also changed—into what, it is not stated. The king commanded that the order might be engraved on copper and stone. The royal order granting the land was written down by the *tirumantra-vōlai* (secretary) Ambalavaṉ Vēḷāṉ *alias* Nittaviṇōda-mūvēndavēḷār of Murappunāḍu; it was initialled at the end (*kaḍai-īḍu; lit.* placing, that is, writing, at the end, by the commander-in-chief Chandraśēkharaṉ *alias* Vīrapāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷār of Iḷa-vēṇbaikkuḍi, and was signed by the *puravari-tiṇaikkaḷanāyakam* Nārāyaṇaṉ Kēśavaṉ *alias* Teṉṉava-śikhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷār of Viḷattūr in the Malaikkūṟṟam; and by the *mukaveṭṭi-nāyakam*, Tāyan Poṉṉaṉ *alias* Kuṟumbiluḍaiyāṉ of Araiyanēri in the Śembilnāḍu and by the *kūṟṟukku kūṟu* (*kuṟṟukku kuṟu śeyvāṉ*) Pēraruḷāḷaṉ Karṟaṅguḍiyāṉ *alias* Vāṇavaṉ Vaḷudikkōṉ of Kōṭṭūr in the Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍu.

There are a few inscriptions known to belong to the reign of a Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva which give us some clue to the identification of the Vīra Pāṇḍya of our record. An inscription at Tirukkaḍavūr (in the Tanjore district) dated the 34th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva states that the country was in a state of confusion and that the people were in distress. This state of things is believed to have been brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominions to his younger brothers and by his having subsequently resumed them. This latter act of his seems to have involved Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyadēva and later on his son Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva in a war with Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva (the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍyadeva) and his son Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍya. It was in this war of succession that the Chōḷa kings Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III had to intercede on behalf of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyadēva and his son Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva. From the Ārappākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja II, we learn that the army of the Siṅghaḷadēśa, which came from Ceylon to help Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva overran a considerable portion of the Chōḷa domonions, destroyed and desecrated Hindu temples, and made the people of the Ārappākkam region tremble as to how the war was going to end. The king Rājādhirāja sent an army, defeated and drove away the Singhalese army. At the time Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III entered into the conflict, Kulaśēkhara evidently seems to have died and the war was carried on by his son Vikrama. Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III states that he also defeated the *maṟava* army, drove away the Siṁhaḷas into the sea, took Madurai from Vīra Pāṇḍya and bestowed it upon Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the son of Kulaśēkbara. After this event, the king Vīra Pāṇḍya once again rose in rebellion, deposed Vikrama Pāṇḍya and assuming the Pāṇḍya sovereignty proceeded against the Chōḷa, whom he encountered in Neṭṭūr, but sustained defeat at the hands of his adversary; and it is said that he lost his crown. But the war was continued by his son Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍya. He seems also to have been overcome by Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III who however pardoned him and his father Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva.

In another inscription found in the same temple it is distinctly mentioned that Vīra Pāṇḍya the opponent of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III at first took refuge with his near relations at Kollam (Quilon, the capital of the Kūpaka kings) and that the Vīrakēraḷa said to have been conquered by Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III was also a Pāṇḍya.

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The facts that Vīra Pāṇḍya took refuge with the Kūpaka king at Kollam and that his son bears a distinctly Kēraḷa name, Vīra-Kēraḷa, enable us to surmise that the then reigning Kūpaka was perhaps named Vīra Kēraḷa (1), that his daughter was married by Vīra Pāṇḍya and that the Pāṇḍya crown prince was named after the maternal grandfather.

Another inscription from Murappunāḍu in the Tinnevelly district informs us that Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva conquered Īḻam, Koṅgu and the Śōḻamaṇḍalam and that he was pleased to perform the anointment of the heroes and victors at Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (Chidambaram). Before the wars of succession Vīra Pāṇḍya might have invaded and conquered Īḻam (Ceylon) in a subordinate capacity and afterwards become friendly with the Ceylon king. The first fact might have served as the basis of his boast of having conquered Īḻam, while the latter might account for the help he received from the Singhalese. That a large portion of the Chōḻa country was taken by him is evidenced by the Ārappākkam and the Tirukkaḍavūr inscriptions and is not inconsistent with his claim for the conquest of the Chōḻamaṇḍalam, nor with the performance of his anointment of heroes and victors at Chidambaram, which is so near Tirukkaḍavūr. Thus then, there appears now no difficulty in taking the Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva of our inscription as identical with Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya mentioned above. This identification is borne out by the further fact that his son (*Piḷḷaiyār*) is said to be Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva, a name which is also assumed by the Uttaramantrin Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṉār. The uncertainty of Vīra Pāṇḍya's retaining the throne, nay even his life, seems to have troubled the minds of the good *brāhmaṇa* officer, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēndaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu Nambi, the crown prince Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva and the Uttaramantrin Vīra Kēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṉār and prompted them to get the king to grant this land to the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin for granting him long life.

If the surmises made above are correct, the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva becomes the contemporary of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅgachōḻa III. Mr. Venkayya has expressed his opinion that there is nothing against identifying the Vīra Pāṇḍya, the opponent of the Chōḻas, Rājādhirāja and Kulottuṅga, with a Vīra Pāṇḍya the initial year of whose reign is A.D. 1253. It appears to me that this identification is untenable, because the last year of Kulōttuṅgachōḻa III hitherto known is A.D. 1215 and he that fought and lost his life with one whose reign ended in A.D. 1215 cannot have been crowned in A.D. 1253.

Vīra Pāṇḍya might be one of the brothers of Kulaśēkhara to whom the latter gave some territories, or he might be the son of his brother. In the latter case Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the father of Vīra Pāṇḍya, must be a brother of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (perhaps an elder brother).

The one solitary military achievement that is mentioned in our inscription, namely, his conquest of the Malaināḍu might have taken place sometime before his coronation; in this expedition he perhaps defeated Vīrakēraḷa, took his daughter in marriage and afterwards reinstated him on his throne.

The period of the history of a dynasty of kings, who are deprived of their kingdom and liberty by foreign conquest, but are suffered to live in a subordinate position to the conquerors, is

(1) In all probability, the Virakēraḷa, king of the Kūpaka country, conquered by Vīra Pāṇḍya was the father of Saṅgrāmadhīra Ravivarman. Ravivarman, in his turn, is said to have married the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king after defeating him; it might be that Ravivarman attacked and defeated the adversary of Vīra Pāṇḍya (*i.e.*, Vikrama Pāṇḍya) and married his daughter. With the friendship thus secured with Vīra Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Pāṇḍya by marriage ties, he was able to overrun the country as far north as Conjeevaram, defeat the Telugu-Chōḍa princes and be anointed at Kāñchi.

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always hazy and therefore difficult to picture ; for example, the subjugation of the Chōḷas by the Pallavas, which took place evidently sometime in the reign of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I. or perhaps earlier has completely wiped out of memory of the people the history of the predecessors of Vijayālaya ; a similar period of haziness in the history of the Chola kingdom and confusion in the order of succession among the kings followed the conquest and subjection of the Chōḷa country by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, (Kannaradēva). The same state of confusion regarding the history of the Pāṇḍyas occurs in the period covered by the reigns of the Chōḷa kings beginning with Parāntaka I, up to Rājarāja III, a period of over three centuries. If we hear anything about the Pāṇḍya kings at all, during this period, it is only casually, when we learn barely their names and what happened to them. But when we come to the reign of Rājārāja III, when the Chōḷa power was visibly on the decline, we see the activities of Māṟavarman and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas in subverting the Chōḷa domination in the Kāverī delta. The history of these later Paṇḍyas, who enjoyed some sort of independence would be easy at present to work out, if all the materials that lie locked up to the advantage of no one in the office of the Madras Epigraphist were made available to the world at large or to competent scholars outside the department. An attempt in the direction of the construction of such a history of the later Pāṇḍyas was made successfully in Vol. I, No. VI of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. It is perfectly possible to bring into proper alignment the innumerable Sundara Pāṇḍyas, Vikrama Pāṇḍyas, Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyas, Vīra-Pāṇḍyas and others, and to build up their history, which is of special interest just now, because of the theory of contemporaneous multiple sovereignty of Pāṇḍyas propounded by the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swāmīkaṇṇu Piḷḷai and of the attempt of Mr. R. Sewell to disprove this theory.

The names of places that occur in this inscription are :—Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam, Tirupputtūr, Puṟattāyanāḍu, Pūśaṅkuḍi, Puḷḷālaṅkuṟichchi, Murappunāḍu, Maṟavaṉūr, Veṇbaikkuḍināḍu, Malaikkūṟṟam, Viḷattūr, Śembilnāḍu, Arayanēri, Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍu, Kōṭṭūr and Kaṟṟaṅguḍi. Of these, Tirupputtur is the head-quarters of the Taluka of the same name in the Madura district. Puṟattāyanāḍu is the name of a portion of South Travancore and South Tinnevelly district. Murappunāḍu, is in the Śrīvāikuṇṭham Taluka of the same district ; Maravaṉūr should be looked for near Murappunāḍu ; Tiruvaḷidivaḷanāḍu, appears to be the name of the country round Āḻvār-Tirunagari ; Kōṭṭūr should be looked for near Āḻvār Tirunagari. There are two places called Vēmbaṅkuḍi in the Trinchchuḷi Taluka and the Śivagaṅga Taluka respectively, of the Madura district ; either of these might be identified with Veṇbaikuḍi.

## Text.(1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]பூமடந்தையுஞ் ஜயமடந்தையு [ம்*] பொலிந்து திருப்புயத் திருப்ப பார் [முழுதி] ங்குடை நிழற்ற [(பராகேஸரி)] (2)
2. [பராகேஸரி] மத்தால் முடிசூடி தென்மதுராபுரி[த்] திருவிளை[ய]ாட்டத்திற் கண்டு மன்னெல்லா[ம்*] வந்திறை-
3. ஞ்ச மலைநாடு கொண்டருளி மாபாரதம் பொருதருளி மன்னவற்கு தூது சென்றரு[ளி] தேவாசுர [மது]கை தரித்தி தேனுரு-
4. மாயுங் (3) கொண்டருளி வடவரையி(ல்)ற் கயல் பொறித்து வானவர்கோனரம் பூண்டு திடவாசகக்குறுமுனி-

(1) From the impression prepared under my supervision.
(2) Here is some confusion in the letters caused by interlineation, erasure &c.
(3) Perhaps the reading here is தேனுருமா(றை)யுங்

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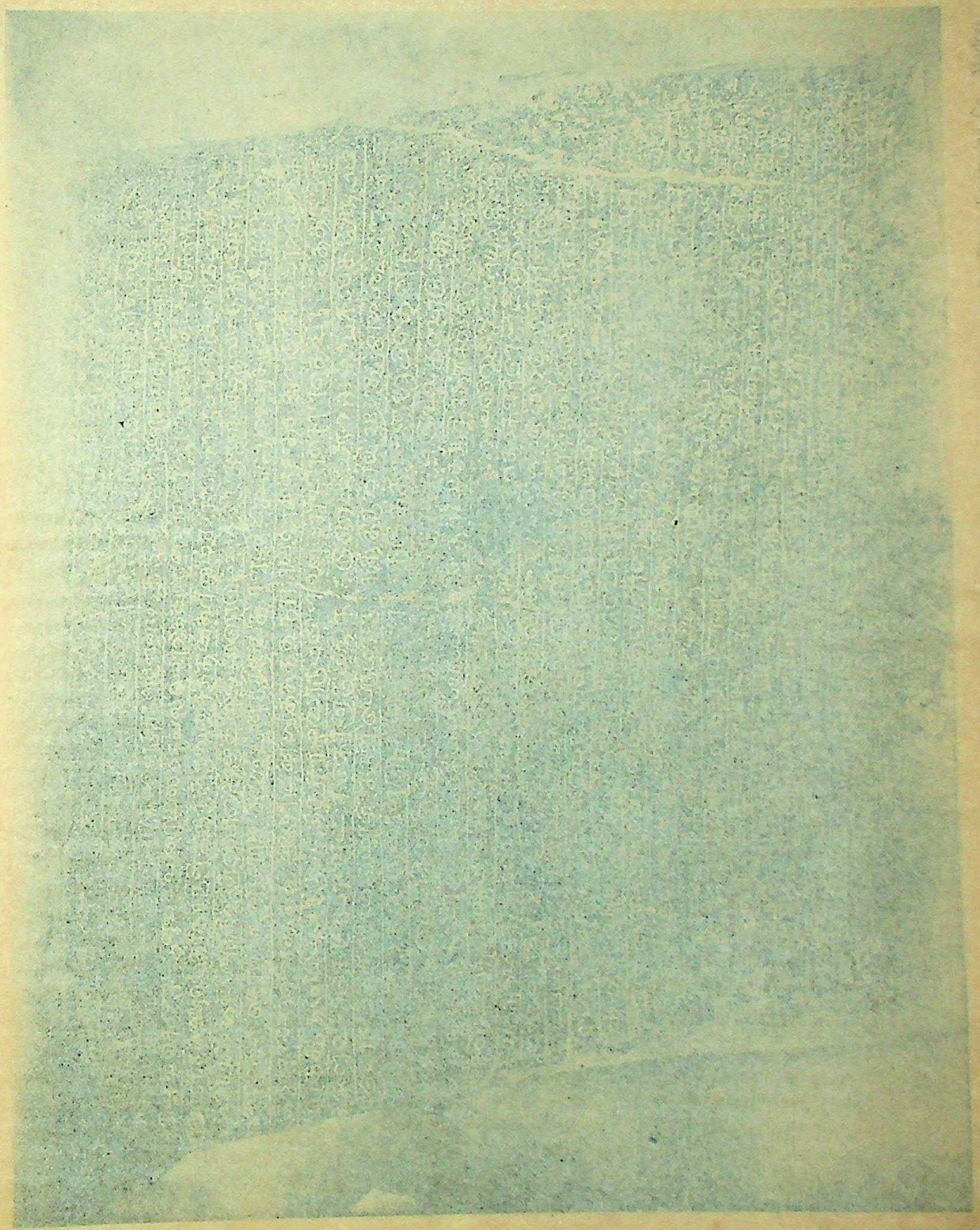

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA

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always hazy and therefore difficult to [illegible] the Pallavas which took place evidently [illegible] or perhaps earlier has completely wiped out of [illegible] predecessors of Vijayālaya; a similar period of [illegible] kingdom and confusion in the order of [illegible] and submersion of the Chōla country by the [illegible] The same state of confusion regarding the [illegible] by the reigns of the Chōla kings beginning with Parāntaka I [illegible] three centuries. If we hear anything about the Pāndyas [illegible] casually, when we learn barely their names and [illegible] the reign of Rājarāja III, when the Chōla power was [illegible] Māravarman and Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya to [illegible] delta. The history of these later Pandyas, who [illegible] easy as present to work out, if all the materials [illegible] office of the Madras Epigraphist were made available to [illegible] scholars outside the department. An attempt to [illegible] history of the later Pāṇḍyas was made successfully in Vol. I [illegible] Series. It is perfectly possible to bring into proper [illegible] Vikrama Pāṇḍyas, Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyas, Vīra Pāṇḍyas and [illegible] which is of special interest just now, because of the [illegible] overlordship of Pāṇḍyas propounded by the Hon'ble Mr. [illegible] attempt of Mr. R. Sewell to disprove this theory.

The names of places that occur in this inscription are [illegible] Perumbaṇṇāḍu, Pōṉaṅkuḍi, Puḷḷālaṅkuricheḥi, Murappuṇāḍa [illegible] Malaikkōṭṭai, Vīrāṭṭūr, Sembiṉāḍu, Arayaṉēri, Tiruvaḷḷiviḷaṅ [illegible] town Tirupattūr is the head-quarters of the Taluka of the [illegible] Peṟaṇṇāyaṉāḍu is the name of a portion of South Travancore [illegible] Murappuṇāḍa, is in the Śrīvaikuṇṭham Taluka of the same [illegible] for near Murappuṇāḍa; Tiruvaḷḷiviḷaṅāḍu, appears to be [illegible] Tirunagarī; Kōṭṭūr should be looked for near Āḻvār Tiru[illegible] Vēmbaṅkuḍi in the Tirucheḥuḷi Taluka and the Śivagaṅga [illegible] district; either of these might be identified with Veṇbaṅkuḍi.

## Text.(1)

1. [illegible]

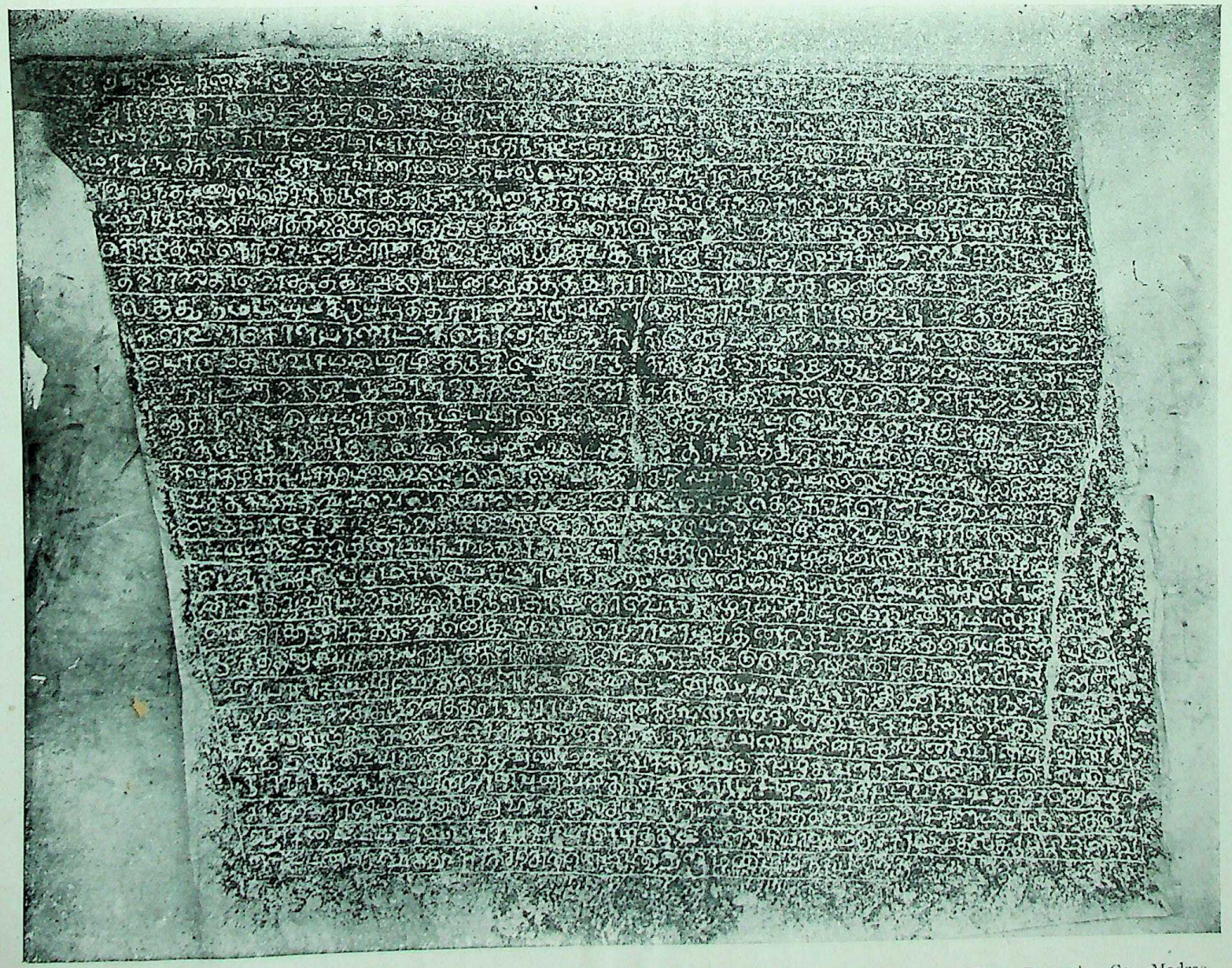
2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

(1) From the impression prepared under my [illegible]
(2) Here is some confusion in the letters [illegible]
(3) Perhaps the reading here is [illegible]

# SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA.



SCALE O 1.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

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5. பால் செந்தமிணூல் தெரிந்தருளித் தளிருங்கைத்த[1] மாதுரிமைச் செங்கோ-
லெங்குந் திசை நடாத்தி மன்னி-
6. ய வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்திற் த்ரைலோக்ய[2] முழுதுடையாரோடும் வீற்றி-
ருந்தருளி மாமுதல் மதிக்குல[ம்*] விளக்கிய
7. கோமுதல் கொற்றவன்மரான த்ரிபுவனச்சக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவீரபாண்ட்ய
தேவர் சுபிஷேக காலத்-
8. திற்[3] ராஸிதாமோத்ரத்து ஆஸ்வாயனஸூத்ரத்து[4] நாராயணன்சேந்த
(த)னை இடையாற்றுமங்க-
9. லத்து நம்பியும் திருப்புத்தூராழ்வாரும் பிள்ளையார் வீரகேரளதேவரும்
உத்தரமந்திரி-
10. கள் வீரகேரளபாண்டியக்கோனாரும் நிக்க[5] இடையாற்று மங்கலத்து நம்பி-
11. யோடும் திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி பெருமாளுக்கு திருவாயுஷ்யாஷ்டமாஹ[6]
ஸுவிந்த்ர முடை-
12. ய நாயனாற்கு பெருமாள் தாநம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தருளின பூமி தென்-
கூற்றுப் புற-
13. த்தாநாட்டுப் பூசன்குடிப்பால[த]வோடு தோட்டம்[॥*] இவ்வதவோடு-
தோட்டத்து-
14. க்கு பெருநான்கெல்லை [।*] கீழெல்லை பாதிரித்தோட்டத்து நீர்நக்கல் தென்
னெல்லை-
15. கல்க்குழிக்கு வடக்கு மேலெல்லை புல்லாலங்குறிச்சிக் கர்கறைவயலில் ஒற்று-
வாயல் கிணற்-
16. றுக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லைகறடிகும்பல்கடம்புக்கு தெற்கு ஏரி இரண்டினால்
விளை நி-
17. லமும் காடுமுள்ப்பட நில[ம்*] ஏழுவேலி [॥*] இந்நிலமேழுவேலியும்
இறையிலி காராண்மையு[மு]-
18. ட்பட ஸுவிந்த்ரமுடைய நாயினாற்கு தாநம்பண்ணினார் பெருமாழ்[7] [।*]
முன்னுடையாரும் பழம்-
19. பேரும் நீக்கி [॥*] இப்படிக்கு பெருமாள் கல்லிலும் செமபிலும் வெட்டிக்
குடுக்கவெ-
20. ன்று திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி திருமந்திரவோலை முரப்புநாட்டு மறவ
னூரம்பலவன்
21. வேளானை நித்தவினோத மூவேந்தவேளாரெழுத்தினால் ப்ரஸாதஞ்செய்த
ருளிய ஸ்ரீ-

(1) Perhaps தளிரிருங்கை.
(2) Read த்ரைலோக்ய.
(3) Read °த்தில்.
(4) Read ஆஸ்வலாயன.
(5) Read நிற்க.
(6) Read °மாக.
(7) Read பெருமாள்.

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22. முகத்தினாலும் ஸேனாபதிகள் வெண்பைக்குடிநாட்டு இளவெண்பைச் சந்திர சேகரனான-

23. வீரபாண்டியமூவேந்தவேளார் கடையீட்டினாலும் புரவுவரிதிணைக்கள நாய-கம்-

24. மலைகூற்றத்து விளத்தூர் நாராயணன் கேசவனான தென்னவசிகாமணி மூவேந்தவேளாரெ-

25. ழுத்தினாலும் (கி) முகவெட்டி நாயகம் செம்பில் நாட்டு அரையனேரி தாயன் பொன்னனான கு-

26. றும்பிலுடையானெழுத்தினாலும் கூற்றுக்குகூறு திருவழுதிவளநாட்டு கோட்டூர்ப் பேர-

27. ருளாளன் [க]ற்றங்குடியான் வானவன் வழுதிக்கோன் ெ....ட்டின் உள் வரிபடியாலும் நி[த*] தவினோத மூவெ-

28. வந்தவேளாரெழுத்தினால் ஸ்ரீஸாஹஞ்செய்தருளிய ஸ்ரீமுகத்தாலும் வீர பாண்டிய மூவேந்த வே-

29. ளார் கடையீட்டாலும் புரவுவரியா ரெழுத்தி[ட்ட] உள்வரியாலும் இக்கால முதல் திருப்படிமாற்று-

30. ள்ளிட்டன செலுத்துவாராகச் சொன்னோம் ஸுவிந்த்ரமுடைய நாயனா ற்கு [॥*].

## Translation.

Lines 1-13. When the monarch of the three worlds (*tribhuvana-chakravartti*), the Koṟṟa-varman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva, who made the lunar race illustrious (by being born in it) and who was the foremost among kings,—while the maiden of the flower (Lakshmī, the goddess of riches) and the maiden of victory (Jaya-Lakshmī) were residing on his shoulders, while his umbrella was affording shade to the whole world—, was crowned (solely) through his prowess; was pleased to take the Malaināḍu and was paid homage to by all the kings who visited him in his own capital; was pleased to fight out the war of Mahābhārata; was pleased to go out on an embassy for the kings (Pāṇḍavas?) [fought in the battle] between the *dēvas* and the *asuras*; was pleased to take . . . . . ; engraved the (figure of the) carp fish on the northern mountain (Mēru); wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra); was pleased to learn the Tamiḻ literature from the sage (Agastya) who was strong in words (speech) and short in stature; protected all the quarters (of the globe) with the sceptre held in his hand which was as soft as tender leaf; and was pleased to be seated upon the resplendent and victorious throne (*siṁhāsana*) with (his consort) the possessor of the three worlds,—at the time of the coronation (of Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva), when there were present Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śēndaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟu-maṅgalattu-Nambi of the Rāsitā-gōtra and the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Tirupputtūr-Āḻvār, the prince Vīrakēraḷadēva and the *uttara-mantrin* Vīrakēraḷapāṇḍya-kkōṉār, the king was pleased to speak to Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu-Nambi that for granting him (the king) long life, he was pleased to make a grant of land to the god at Suchīndram; (its name was) Adavōḍutōṭṭam which was situated in Pūśaṅguḍi (a village) in the Puṟattāyanāḍu. The four major boundaries of this Adavōḍu-toṭṭam (were):—

Lines 14-30. The eastern boundary was the *nīrnakkal* of the Pādiri-tōṭṭam; the southern boundary, the stone pit (quarry), situated to the north of which was (the land that was

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granted); the western boundary was the well called Orṟuvāyal-kiṇaṟu in the field called the Karkaṟai vayal in (the village of) Pullālaṅkuṟichchi, to the east of which was situated (the land that was granted); and the northern boundary was the *kaḍambu* (tree) near the Karaḍi-kumbal. (The extent of this land) was seven *vēlis* including the two tanks, the arable land and the forest land. The king presented to the god at Suchīndram this (plot of) land which was made tax-free and so as to include the right of *kārāṇmai*, after the old tenants and its old name was removed. Thus the king was pleased to command (the grant) to be engraved upon stone and copper; the order which was drawn up by the hand of and proclaimed by the *tirumandira-ōlai* (secretary) Ambalavaṉ-Vēḷaṉ *alias* Nittavinōdamūvēndavēḷāṉ of Maravaṉūr in the Murappu-nāḍu, which was initialled at the bottom by the *sēnāpati* (commander-in-chief) Chandraśēkharaṉ *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēḷār of Iḷaveṇbaikkuḍi in the Veṇbaināḍu, which was signed by the *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷa-nāyakam* Nārāyaṇaṉ-Kēśavaṉ *alias* Teṉṉavaśikhāmaṇi-mūvēndavēḷār of Viḷattūr in the Malaināḍu; by the *mukavetṭi-nāyakam* Tāyaṉ Poṉṉaṉ *alias* Kuṟumbiludaiyāṉ of Arayanēri in the Śembilnāḍu, and by the divisional officer Pēraruḷāḷaṉ Karṟaṅguḍiyāṉ *alias* Vānavaṉ-vaḷudikkōṉ of Kōṭṭur in the Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu. Thus did we (the king) order that from this time (day) all expenses (of the temple) including the *tiruppaḍimāṟṟu* be supplied to the god at Suchīndram in accordance with the order issued by Nittavinōdamūvēndavēḷāṉ, initialled by Vīrapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēḷār and signed by the *puravuvariyār*.

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## No. 4. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF ŚRĪVALLAVAṄGŌDAI AT TIRUVAṆVAṆḌŪR.

A single copper-plate bearing on it a complete inscription of the reign of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, a king of Vēṇāḍu, till then unknown to epigraphy was discovered by me and published in 1907 in the 9th Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. No other incriptions of this king were available till 1911; during the field-season of that year two stone inscriptions of this king were discovered in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. They are edited below from impressions prepared under my upervision.

The Māmbaḷḷi plate—the one published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IX—is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language. It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era, and records that on a Sunday corresponding to the Aśvati nakshatra in the month Vṛiśchika, when the Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi, one Umaiyammai of Tirukkalayapuram set up an image in the temple at Ayirūr. The English equivalent of the date was calculated by Prof. Kielhorn and found to correspond to Monday, the 10th November, A.D. 973.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved on the base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple in the Śrīvaishṇava *pāḍal-peṟṟa-sthalam* of Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. This village is so situated that it is not easily accessible even during the summer season when the harvest is over, and more so during the winter season. There is no public road or pathway leading to it and one has to walk over the bunds of the fields to reach it. The inscriptions are in a very damaged condition due to exposure to the sun's heat. Both of them are unfortunately undated; one of them,—A,—records the gift of land made by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai to the god of the temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, for food-offering and other purposes; while, the other,—B,—registers a similar grant made for a similar purpose by the same king, to the Tiruvāyambāḍi (the temple of Kṛishṇa). These two records, therefore, practically add nothing to the history of this king, but they are certainly important in that they establish the genuineness of the Māmbaḷḷi-plate.

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### A

This inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language. The alphabet resembles very much that of the Māmbaḷḷi plate and therefore needs no special remarks. The epigraph records that **Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, the governor of Vēṇāḍu** made a grant of land to the god at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr; from the income of which the following expenditure had to be met:—

(i) two *nāḻis* of rice to be spent on [something which is not clear; the stone is here damaged.]

(ii) three *nāḻis* of rice for the *Śrībali*. After this, the stone is once again badly broken and the writing on it cannot be deciphered. Evidently the rest of the inscription seems to prohibit the *ūrāḻars* &c., from interfering with this item of expenditure; and if they did, they were made subject to a fine of some sum of gold,(1) (here the stone is damaged), to the god in the temple and twenty-five *kaḻañjus* and five *kāṇams* to the then ruling king. This expenditure should be supervised by 'the three-hundred of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu.' Further fines for remissness on the part of some one (who it is, it is impossible to find from the record) in performing these duties is next mentioned; if the duties were not

(1) Perhaps 15 *kaḻañjus* and 5 *kāṇams* of gold.

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performed for a period of five days, the delinquent should pay double the amount that would have been spent during those days; if however the lapse of duty extended to ten days, he would be made liable to pay a fine of sixty *kaḻañjus* of gold. Next comes a mutilated portion of the record, which is unintelligible. Lastly, it is stated that all those who do harm to this charity would be subjected to the *Mūḻikkaḻa-kkachcham.*

## Text.[1]

1. [�ஷஹி ஸ்ரீ] [॥*] திருவண்மண்டீர்பட்டாரகர்க்கு வேணுடை[2] ஸ்ரீவல்ல
வங்கோதை செ[ன்ன]டைக்கமைச்ச பூமியாவது [।*]-

2. [தே]க[ா]விங்ஙனு[ர்] கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும் [।*] பரவனூர்கரி யிருபத்[ை]தங்-
கலமும் [।*] த[ப்ப]றலில் (?) உன்னதன்வைப்பு-

3. யிருபத்[ை]தங்கலம் [।*] யிந்திரனீலன் கரியில் விலைக்கு கொண்ட சான்றூர்
நெல் ஒன்பதி[ஞ]ழிப்-

4. புறையாலறுபது பறை [।*] பு[ல] . வளைச்சேரியி...ள்ளுடைக் [க]ண்ட .
வி.....

5. ரின்னுயிருநாழி அரிதி[சி]வலிக்கு முக்[கா]லு முங்நாழி அரிப[லி]மி.....
க்க.....பன்னு.....அரி [॥*]-

6. யிப்பரிவெ.....படாலத்தோடொத்திருப்ப[து].... ஆக்கக்கடவியர் பாட்ட.
மாளர் [॥*] ஸ்ரீவல்லவங் கோதை-

7. யிவ்வறுநாழி அரிக்கு அமைச்சபூமி [நாடோ?] கொ...ண (or த)...ஞ
கரியும் பரவனூர் கரியும் உன்னதன்வைப்பும் யிந்திரன்னீலன் கரியா.....

8 ச்சேரி அவரள.....கு கைகொண்ட சான்றூர் நெல் ஒன்பதினுழிப் பறையால்
[ல]றுபது பறையும் யிவ்வறுநாழி அமைக்க.....

9. ச்சபூமி யி[ச்]செலவினுமி.....தம்ப.... றயப்பெரூர் ஊராளனும் பொதுவாள
...யும்.....பெருமானடிகள்க்கு அ[ன்று].....ப்ப.....

10. டிறு...னுஞ...கோவிங்நிருபத்தைங்கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது
ஊராளரு...யய(?) கழைஞ்சை அஞ்சுகாணம் [பொன்த]ண்டப்படகட.....

11. ச்செலவு நன்றுழை நாடுவாழுமவர் முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கட
வியர் [॥*]...ண்ட...கொ...அஞ்சு நாள் முட்டிக்கில் முட்[டிரட்டி] செலுத்
தக்கட[வி]-

12. யன் [॥*] பத்துநாள் முட்டிக்கிலறுபது கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டப் படுவிது
[॥*] சென்ற செலவு.....டு[ம்]...ட்ட.....[வி வ?] சத்துங்கொன்று (?) ந்
நீக்கி [பொன்] செலுத்தக் கடவியர் யிச்செ-

13. லவு எவ்வகைபட்டோரு [ம்*] விரோதிக்கில் மூழிக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*].

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(1) From the paper impressions of the inscription.

(2) Read வேணுடைய.

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## Translation.

Line 1. Be it well ! Prosperity ! The lands set apart by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, the governor of Vēṇāḍu for the temple of the Bhaṭṭāraka at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr are :—

Lines 2-4. The land (belonging to) Gōvinnaṉār (producing) a hundred *kalams* (of paddy) The Paravaṇārkari, twenty *kalams*. The *vaippu* (land) belonging to (or known as) the Uṉṉataṉ of Tapparal, twenty-five *kalams*. From the land purchased by the Śāṉṟār out of the (plot known as) Indranīlaṅkari, sixty *paṟais* of nine *nāḻis* (each). In the Pula...vaḻaichchēri .....

Lines 5-8. Three *naḻis* of rice for the *śrībali* (to be offered) three times a day ..... The tenants (*pāṭṭam-āḷar*, in Mod. Mal. *Paṭṭaḻis*) shall make up (the required quantity of paddy ?). The lands set up by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai for these six *nāḻis* of rice are : Gōvinnaṉārkari, Paravaṇārkari, Uṉṉataṉ-vaippu, from Indraṇīlaṅkari.....the sixty *paṟais* of paddy each of nine *nāḻis* (capacity) from Śāṉṟār who took.....

Lines 9-13. (This portion which is damaged in many places seems to record that the) Ūrāḻars and Poduvāḻs are prohibited from interfering with the income set apart for the above purpose. If they did, they were to pay to the then ruling king a fine of.....Gōvinnaṉ shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold and the *ūrāḻars* shall pay a fine each of... *kaḻañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The three hundred of the Naṉṟuḻaināḍu shall supervise the income (collect) and pay it (to the temple) ..... If the purpose (for which the arrangement was made) falls in arrears for five days, the person who is in remissness shall be obliged to pay twice his dues. If, however, it falls in arrears for ten days, he shall be subjected to a fine of twenty *kaḻañjus* of gold..... whoever does injury to this item of expenditure will come under the operation of the Mūḷikkaḷakkachcham.

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## B

The following inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapam* of the same temple. It is also written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language and is much more damaged than A. In this document arrangements similar to those in A are also made in connection with the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple. At present the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple, which is situated on the north-west of the chief temple of Vishṇu in Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, is completely ruined and is marked by a heap of well-dressed and moulded stones which belonged to the ruined temple.

## Text.

1. வ்வஹி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] திருவாயம்பாடிக்கு வேணுடைய ஸ்ரீவல்லவங்கோதைய் சென்னடைக்கமைஞ்ச[1] பூமியா [வோ?] பட்[டி] யர்கரி[யு]ம் [பு]றயும் வெரு [தை or ணை]யும் புகாட்டுகு (?).....க்கி.....
2. அய்ங்கல [முமாக]ழிய ஓ...நிலம்நூ (?) றுகலமும் வெண்பாலை வயலில் அய்ங்கலமும் க...ணறத்தியும்.....
3. டி[ப]...நூ...ப்ப...ன்னயால்...ங்நி...த்த....நாழியால் [அறுந்நூற்].....
4. திரு[வாயம்பா]டி செ...வர் வேணுடைய [ஸ்ரீவல்வங்கோதை]...நிலக்கும் ...இச்செலவு முட்டிக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர் ம...-

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(1) Read அமைச்ச.

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5. ...ம்...முட்டு...க்கு மவ்...கழைஞ்சு தண்டப்படுவிது...ை[ழு] ந[ா]டு[வா] முமவர[ள்]க்கு இருபத்தைய் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது [॥*] ஊர்க்கா(?) பந்திரு.....

6. ...அம்முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவிர் [॥*] இச்செலவினு விரோதிக்குமவன் மூழிக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*].

## Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! The lands that were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi (Kṛishṇa's) by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai governor of Vēṇāḍu are:—the Paṭṭiyarkari,..... five *kalams*,.....hundred *kalams*, Veṇpālaivayal, five *kalams*,.....were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, governor of Vēṇāḍu.....If by the negligence of any, this item of expenditure is stopped, that person shall pay double the amount due from him.....shall be liable to the fine of.....*kaḻañju*.....and shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold to the three hundred of Naṉṟuḷaināḍu..... Those three hundred shall supervise this charity and get it duly performed. He that does injury to this expenditure shall come under the operation of the Mūḷikkaḷa-kkachcham.

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## No. 5.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIṂHA VĪRA KĒRAḶA VARMAN: No. 671.

The inscription edited below is found in the temple of Gaṇapatinaḍai at Quilon. It is written in four sections in the **Grantha** or **early Malayāḷam** characters and is in a good state of preservation. It belongs to the reign of a king called **Jayasiṁha** ***alias*** **Vīrakēraḷavarman** and is dated the **Kollam year 671**. In this year, in the solar month Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in the Tulārāśi, in the Vṛiśchika lagna and in the nakshatra Anurādha, the ascetic Nityaprajñamuni performed the **abhishēka** to the god Gōvinda in Nētrapura, after renovating the temple. It is stated at the end of the record that the king of Kēraḷa made arrangements for the daily worship of the god Gōvinda at the command of the lord of Kōḷamba.

From the inscriptions of Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhīra (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV and of this Series, Vol. II), it is found that the name of his father was also Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīrakēraḷavarman; that the 33rd year of his age corresponded to the year A.D. 1299-1300. So, the year of his birth should be A.D. 1267. Even granting that Ravivarman was his first born child and that he was born to him at such an early age as 20, Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa, the father of Ravivarman should have flourished from A.D. 1247. But the king of our record who bears the same name is at least 250 years later than the first one. The Kēraḷa kingdom said to have been conquered by Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhīra seems to have been still in the possession of his descendant Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷavarman, the prince mentioned in the present inscription.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai has been good enough to supply me with the following note regarding the date:—"Kollam 671, Solar month Mithuna, Jupiter in Tulārāśi, lagna Vṛiśchika and nakshatra **Anurādha = A.D. 1496, Wednesday, June 22**, on which day Anurādha nakshatra ended about 24 *ghaṭikas* after mean-sunrise. The day was the 26th of Mithuna month and the mean longitude of Jupiter on that day was 209 degrees which is the last degree of Tulārāśi. No week-day being given in the inscription, the details cannot be verified by means of the week-day: but the data as to the position of Jupiter and the nakshatra afford a means of check."

### No. 51 of 1084.

**Section I**

1. हरि श्री [।*]
2. मंगलं
3. भवतु [।*]

**Section II**

4. स्वस्त्यस्तु जयसिंहस्य
5. वीरकेरळवर्म्मणः
6. तथा तद्वंशजानाञ्च
7. राज्यस्य नगरस्य च

**Section III**

8. कोळंबे पुनरेकसप्ततियुते संवत्सरे षट् शते
9. नित्यप्रज्ञमुनिस्थिते[ऽ*]थ मिथुने भानौ तुलायां गुरौ ।

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10. गोविन्दम् वृषभे[ऽ*]भ्यषेचयदनूराधे मुहूर्ते शुभे
11. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरे[ऽ*]वतात्स नवतां प्राप्ते चिरन्नो विभुः ॥

**Section IV**

12. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरेशस्य
13. पूजार्थं केरळेश्वरः
14. शर्म्मणा कल्पयामास
15. कोळंबेशस्य कल्पनाम् ॥

**Section V**

16. शुभ-
17. मस्तु

## Translation.

Hari Śrī! Be it auspicious!

May it be well with Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīrakēraḷavarman; and so to his descendants, kingdom and city.

In the year 671 of the Kollam era, when the sun was in the Mithunarāśi and Jupiter in the Tulārāśi, at the auspicious moment of Anurādha, during (the ascendancy of Vṛishabha) the sage Nityaprajña bathed Gōvinda. May the lord (Gōvinda) protect us long in the prosperous Nētrapura whose temple has been renewed.

For the purpose of conducting the daily *pūjas*, &c., the lord of the prosperous Nētrapura, the king of Kēraḷa did (*i.e.* obeyed) with pleasure, the command of the lord of Kōḷamba.

May it be prosperous!

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## No. 6.—AN INSCRIPTION OF VIRA RAVI RAVIVARMAN AT TRIVANDRAM.
### KALI 4702=KOLLAM 776.

We have already learnt from the three inscriptions published in Volume I, pp. 176-180 of this Series, of the existence of a king of Vēṇāḍu named Vīra Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ of the Kīḻappērūr Illam and the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam, that he flourished in the first decades of the seventeenth century A. D., that he had two younger brothers named Ādityavarman and Rāmavarman, that he married two wives named Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai and Iḷaiya-Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai, and had perhaps a sister or some other important female relation; one of these inscriptions gives also the names of the consorts of the brothers of the king; in these inscriptions the king is stated to have performed the sixteen great gifts (*mahādānas*) beginning with the *tulāpurusha-mahādāna*, and that he was a devotee of the god Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandram; his mother was Umaiyammai, born in the Rōhiṇī nakshatra, while the king himself is said to have been born in the Jyēshṭhā nakshatra; he seems to have made Trivandram his residential quarters. This king and practically the whole of his family have spent large sums of money on the extensive repairs to the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvāṭṭāṟu; Vīra Ravi Ravivarman himself has repaired almost the whole of the temple of Vīrakēraḷēsvara at Muttaḷakkuṟichchi.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the two faces of the *tulābhāra-kkal* in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram and is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet in which it is written is Tamiḻ; some Saṅskṛit words which occur in the document, *e.g.*, *svasti śrī* in l. 1. *saṁvatsaram* in l. 5, *sūrya-grahaṇattu* in ll. 18-19, *svarūpa* in ll. 22-23 and *dāna* in l. 27, are written in the Grantha alphabet. The record is dated the four thousand, seven hundred and second year of the Kali era which corresponded with the year 776 of the Kollam era; when Saturn stood in the Tulā-rāśi and Jupiter in the Kanyā-rāśi, on Saturday, the 12th of the (solar) month Mithuna and nakshatra Punarvasu, when there occurred a solar eclipse, on this sacred occasion, the king Vīra Ravi Ravivarman performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony, that is, the ceremony of weighing oneself against gold and distributing the gold among brahmaṇas. The two wives of the king built a *maṇḍapa* in commemoration of this important event in the life of their husband.

In the table of eclipses of the sun appended to Messrs. Sewell and Dīkshit's *Indian Calendar*, we find that a total eclipse of the sun had occurred on the 20th of June, 1601 A.D., which is equivalent to Kollam 776. So, the date of our inscription should be the 20th June 1601. In Mr. Nāgamayyā's *Travancore State Manual* it is stated that "Śrī Vīra Ravi Ravivarman of Jayasiṁhanāḍu reigned in Travancore from Vriśchikam 771 to Makaram 782 M.E. (A.D. 1595-1607)." Mr. Ayyā informs us that there are several documents in the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple from which, as also from inscriptions, he seems to have made out the length of the period of the reign of the king. If the information supplied by Mr. Nāgamayyā is correct, the *tulābhāra* ceremony referred to in our inscription should have taken place five years after the accession of the king. The inscription under notice bears out the statement that Vīra Ravi Ravivarman performed the sixteen *mahādānas*—at least so far as the *tulāpurusha* is concerned. It is not known why Mr. Nāgamayyā calls this king a member of the Jayasiṁhanāḍu family, while all the inscriptions distinctly refer to him as a member of the Kīḻappērūr Illam and of the Tiruppāppūr family. Perhaps the temple documents referred to by him state so.

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## Text.(1)

(*West*).

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*]
2. நாலாயிர-
3. த்தெழுநூற்-
4. றிரண்டு ஸம்-
5. வசுஸரஞ்-
6. செல்லா நின்ற-
7. துலாச்சனி
8. கன்னியில்
9. வியாழம்
10. நின்ற கொல்-
11. லம் எாஎ௰-
12. சுஹு மிஶு-
13. நமாஸம்
14. ௰உ சென்ற
15. சனியாட்(ச்)-
16. சையும் பு-
17. ணர்தமும்
18. பெற்ற ஸூர்யக்-
19. ஹ ஹணத்துனாள்

(*South*).

20. கீழப்பேரூர் இ-
21. ல்லத்தில் தி (ரு)
22. பாப்பூர் ஸ்வ-
23. ரூ பத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-
24. வீர இரவி இரவி வ-
25. ன்மரான குல-
26 சேகரப் பெருமா[ள்]
27. துலாபுருஷஹா ந-
28. ஞ் செய்த மண்ட-
29. பம்பணிசெய்-
30. ப்பிச்ச இரவிவன்-
31. மரான குலசேக-
32. ரப் பெருமாளு-
33. டைய கெட்டி-
34 ணத்தவராய
35. இரையுமக் குட்-
36. டி அம்மையும்
37. இரையுமக் குட்டி
38. அம்மையும் மண்-
39. டபம் கெட்டிச்சது.

(1) From impressions prepared under my supervision.

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## Translation.

Be it well ! Prosperity ! In the year four thousand, seven hundred and two (current), when Saturn was in the Tulā (rāśi), Jupiter in the Kanyā (rāśi), in the Kollam year 776, on a Saturday which was the 12th of the month Mithuna and (nakshatra) Punarvasu, when there occurred an eclipse of the sun, the (king) Vīra Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ of the Kīḻappērūr Illam (house) and belonging to the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam (family) weighed himself against gold ; (in commemoration of this event), the *maṇḍapa* in which the *tulāpurusha-mahādāna* was given away (to Brāhmaṇas), was built by the wives (*keṭṭinattavar*) Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai and (Iḷaya) Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai. These built the *maṇḍapa*.

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## No. 7.—SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

The Cochin plates of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi of Malabar were long known to scholars and have afforded ample scope for learned discussions ever since they were published by Dr. Gundert. Even before they were edited by him, there were some editions of it that are not well-known to the scholarly public. Dr. Burnell informs us, "The existence of this grant has long been known. A. Moens (a Dutch Governor of Cochin) first gave an account of it (in Busching's Magazine) in the last century (*i.e.*, 18th). A little later on followed the account by Anquetil Duperron. At the beginning of this (19th) century F.W. Ellis (a Madras Civilian and the real founder of Dravidian Comparative Philology) translated them in a most scholarly manner; but his sudden death in 1819 prevented the publication of his essay which remained unknown till 1844, when Sir Walter Elliot discovered and printed it with an excellent facsimile in Vol. XIII, part ii of the Madras Literary Society's Journal." Besides these editions, it has got a Hebrew translation of it, which Dr. Gundert considers to be only a hundred years old (in his time, but at the present time about 150 years). The learned remarks of Dr. Gundert about this version run thus. "The Hebrew translator seems neither to have understood much of the original Tamil nor to have cared about rendering it faithfully." A translation of the Hebrew version in English is given by Dr. Gundert in Vol. XIII, part ii of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.* In quite recent times Dr. Hultzsch gave his version of this well-known record in Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica;* in translating it he has followed closely Mr. Ellis; he has made no attempt at fixing the age of the document either on the palæographic or other grounds, nor are his edition and translation free from errors.

The dates for this king arrived at by the early editors ranged between A.D. 168 to 774; Kukkil Kelu Nayar asserted that it belonged to 169, Burnell to 774 while Ellis stated that it was 1500 years old, that is, the beginning of the 4th century.

Though a large number of inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi had been gathered from different parts of Travancore, not one of these contained the necessary astronomical data for calculating the date. The most notable discovery, since Dr. Hultzsch's edition of the Cochin plates of this king, is that of a single copper-plate, bearing on it a complete inscription recording a gift by a petty prince to the temple at Tirunelli. It is dated in the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman. It was first discovered by Mr. L. A. Cammiade, B.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, Presidency Magistrate, Madras, several years ago and he very kindly lent it to me for examination. This plate contained a complete set of astronomical details which made the calculation of its equivalent and verification possible. The date is given there as the thirty-fifth year opposite the sixth which was opposite to the second year of the reign of the king; that is, 2nd+6th+35th=43rd year; in that year the gift was made on a Wednesday, the eighth (expired) day of the solar month Mīna and nakshatra Uttara Phalguni, when Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi. The date was calculated for me by the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai: he writes "I took the period from A.D. 949 to 1329 (380 years) and find only one year in which 9th Mīna was a Wednesday, when Jupiter was in Tulā and moon in Uttara-Phalguni (*eṭṭu śeṉṟa* is, I believe, 9th and not 8th). The year in question is A. D. 1020-21, when 9th Mīna was Wednesday, 1st March, 1021 A.D., on which day Jupiter was in Tulā (longitude about 186° Tulā), and the moon was in **nakshatra** Uttara-Phalguni, whose ending moment was 57½ *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise. In A.D. 1115-16,

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the next most likely year, 8th Mīna was A. D. 1116. I do not find any other year in the period of four centuries (A. D. 950 to 1350) when 8th or 9th Mīna was a Wednesday and when Jupiter stood in Tulā rāśi and the moon in *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni." This gives us A. D. 978 as the initial year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

In the light of the date-calculation of this record, it has become easy to fix the exact dates of the other inscriptions which are edited in this article.

The inscriptions edited below have been gathered from Tirukkākkarai, in North Travancore; Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittānam near Chaṅganāśēri and Mulikkalam near Ālvāy. We also know that during the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman grants were made to the temple at Tirunelli. From the situation of these places one can say that the kingdom of Bhāskara Ravivarman should have extended from at least Wynaad in the north to Chaṅganāśēri in the south, a distance of 1°56′ and therefore comprised the whole of the Malayalam country consisting of the British Malabar Districts, the Cochin State and more than half at least of the present State of Travancore. He can therefore be no petty chieftain but might be rightly considered to be a suzerain lord of the Malaināḍu. This surmise is borne out by the fact that there ruled under him as Provincial Governors a number of minor chiefs, **Nāḍuvāḻis**, such as those of the Puṟaikiḻānāḍu, Kuṟmporaināḍu, Veṇpolināḍu, Vēṇāḍu and Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. In somewhat later times these subordinate princes appear to have become independent probably because the central Government disappeared for reasons not known at present; they became the *rājas* of the well-known later kingdoms of Vadakkiṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkūṟu, Travancore, &c. Thus there seems to be some reason for the faith held by all the present day Malabar princes that they are all representatives of a Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ, for, they all were serving the same sovereign; whether they were lineal descendants of the Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ or not we cannot vouchsafe for.

From the fact that Bhāskara Ravivarman commenced his reign in A.D. 978 and ruled for at least 58 years, that is, till A.D. 1036, it is certain that he was the contemporary of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndrachōḷa, who ruled from A.D. 985-1014 and A.D. 1014-1046 respectively. Rājarāja mentions in a large number of his Tanjore inscriptions that he conquered the Chēramāṉ of Malaināḍu, whereas Rājēndra Chōḷa claims to have conquered the Chēra and taken several ancient islands belonging to him; one of these was Śāntimat-tīvu which was strongly fortified and on this account was chosen by Parśurāma for depositing the highly praised golden crown, and the crown and the necklace, the heirlooms of the Chēra kings. Very likely Rājarāja I conquered Bhāskara Ravivarman, whom Rājēndrachōḷa I must have also defeated and plundered him of his heirlooms. Since the latest date hitherto known of Bhāskara Ravivarman is his 58th year corresponding to A.D. 1036, it may be surmised that he might have died in the war with the king Rājēndrachōḷa and his kingdom broken up into the petty principalities of Vaḍakkiṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkuṟu, Vēṇāḍu, &c., and these might have acknowledged the supremacy of the conqueror and might therefore have been suffered to rule over their principalities as vassals. No doubt, the above surmise is put forward as a mere hypothesis and the correctness or otherwise of it has to be determined by further researches.

Concerning the period of accession of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman in the year A.D. 978-9, Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai writes thus:—"It follows from the dates of the Tirunelli plate, No. II and that of No. 102 of 1084 of the Travancore Collection that the reign must have commenced in or before October and after April, in other words, that the regnal years changed numbers in this interval; so that if April 1016 was at the end of the 38th year and March 1021 was at the end of the 43rd year, October 1021 may have been in the beginning of the 44th year and deducting 21 from either side we have October 1000 A.D. = beginning of the 23rd year."

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## A.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. I OF THE REIGN OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman is engraved upon the west and south bases of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam, a village situated 2 miles east of Changanāśēri, the headquarters of the Tālūka of the same name in the Kōṭṭayam Division of the Travancore State. Tirukkaḍittānam is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* or *pāḍalperra* Vaishṇava-kshētras in the Malaināḍu ; the praises of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam have been sung by Nammāḻvār who lived, according to the astronomical calculations of the Hon. Mr. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, in A.D. 798. Consequently the temple existed from at least the 8th century of the Christian era. The temple has several inscriptions on its walls, a large number of which belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman and are edited in this paper. It is built in the fashion of the Malabar temples, namely, with a circular central shrine surrounded by a raised rectangular covered walk with door-ways pierced in it on the four directions. The central shrine in this temple is a doubled roofed one and its walls bear fairly well-preserved paintings of a somewhat later period. The inscription under notice is dated **the twelfth year opposite to the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman** that is, A.D. 992 ; it records that Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍaṉ, the Governor of Vēṇāḍu granted some taxes (?) to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam. It is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḻ language**. The chieftain of Vēṇāḍu mentioned herein was a vassal of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi and has figured as a signatory in the Tirunelli grant published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The compound word Vēṇāḍu has been split up into **vēḻam** and **nāḍu** by the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai and interpreted by him as the country abounding in elephants. I have shown elsewhere that Vēṇāḍu is the country of the *Vēḷs* or the chieftains, in this instance, of the Āy dynasty and has nothing to do either grammatically or even etymologically with elephants. The inscription is incomplete and therefore it is difficult to make out its exact sense.

### Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] கோப்பாக்கரநிரவிவர்மர்திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டி
ரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் ப[ந்]தீராமாண்டு [।*] வேணுடைய கோவர்தன[ம்] மார்த்தாண்
டன் அமைச்சு நன்றுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்து திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்
ளும் [உ]டம்பாட்டால் வாழ்க்கை [அ]கப்ப . இடங்கழியால் பன்திருக்கலந் நெல் [முக்க]ல
[வரு ?] கொள்ளு அமைச்சு மிக்கது.

(INCOMPLETE).

### Abstract of Contents.

While the twelfth year opposite to the second of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍaṉ who had (1) (the chieftainship of) the Vēṇāḍu, ruling (also) the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu established.....with twelve *kalams* of paddy as measured by the *eḍaṅgaḻi* (a measure) which was collected from the Tirukkaḍittānam district as the tax due (to Gōvarddhana Mārttaṇḍaṉ) for administering the country (2) ; the balance.....

(1) The word *amaichchu* occurring after the name of the chieftain may be taken to mean simply 'having set up or established' or, with some probability, as describing him as a minister of Bhāskara Ravivarman and in that capacity as having been given the governorship of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu.

(2) The word *vāḻkkai* appears to bear some relation to the phrase nāḍu-vāḻuginra which means '(who) makes the country prosper (by his reign)'; *vāḻkkai* is perhaps the tax due to the king who affords protection to or *nāḍu vāḻvikkiṉṟadu* and is used here in this sense.

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## B.—PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The inscription edited below is engraved upon the base of the central shrine of the temple, at Peruneyil, a suburb of Chaṅgaṉāśēri. It is an unfinished record written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and is dated the **2nd+12th**, that is, the 14th year of an unmentioned king. From the fact that the year 12th is opposite to the second, which opposition to the second year being a special feature of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, as also from the fact that there are found in the same temple inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, the inscription under consideration is also taken to belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Some arrangements are said to have been made by the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the *poduvāḷs*, the *sabhā* of the village of Kīḻakkuḷaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śrīdharaṉ of Pandāvūr and the Vēṇāḍu chief who was governing also the Naṉṟauḻainādu; since the inscription is unfinished, nothing regarding the arrangements could be said. This meeting is said to have taken place when Jupiter stood in the Makara rāśi, on the 20th (expired) of the solar month Mīṉa, which was a Sunday and the nakshatra Punarvasu.

### Text.

1. [ஷஹி]ஶ்ரீ [॥*] இரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் (ர) பந்தீராமாண்டை மகரத்-
தில் வியாழங்நின்ற மீனஞாயிறு இருபது சென்ற ஞாயிருண்ட புணர் [த்த*]-
2. த்தினுள் பெருநெய்தலூரும் பொதுவாளும் கீழ-
க்குளங்ஙரைத்தபையும் பந்தாவூர் நாராயணஞ்சிரீதரனும் நன்றுழநாடுவா
[ழு]ன்ற வேணாடுடைய.

(UNFINISHED).

### Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the twelfth year opposite to the second, when Jupiter stood in the Makara (rāśi), in the (solar) month of Mīna, on the twentieth day (expired, that is, the 21st), on the Punarvasu nakshatra, the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the Poduvāḷs, the *sabhā* of Kīḻakkuḷaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śrīdharaṉ of Pandāvūr.....governor of Vēṇāḍu administering the Naṉṟuḻainādu.....

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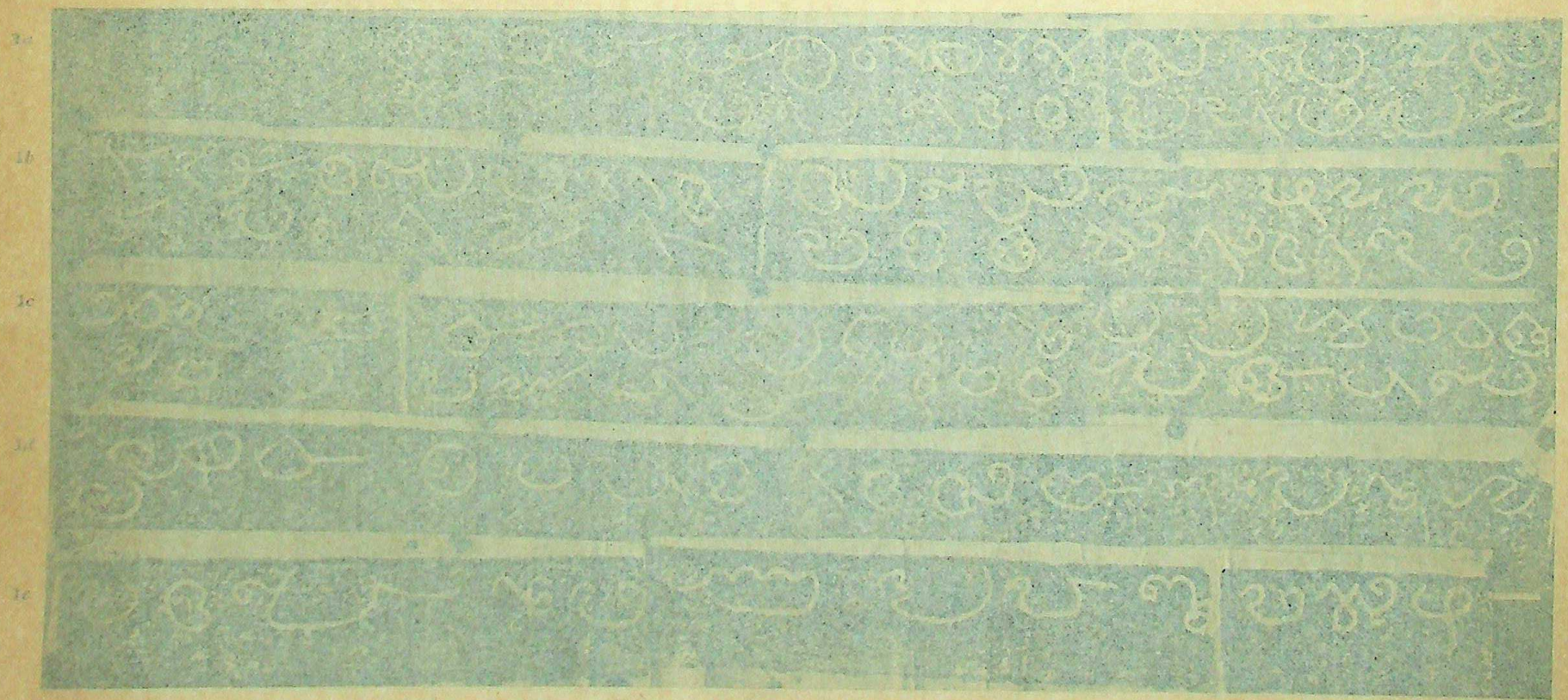
## C.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. II OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved upon the north and west walls of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam and is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and the **Tamil** language. It belongs, according to the reading of the inscription, to the **thirteenth year** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman.** A point worthy of note in the inscriptions of this king is that all of them are dated in some years **opposite the second.** The second year has been obviously omitted here through inadvertence; for, on working up the astronomical details they are found to agree actually only with the fifteenth year. Regarding the date Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai writes thus: "No. 89 of 1086 (of the Travancore Collection). 13th year: Jupiter in Ṛishabha, Tulā month. Of the years A. D. 990, 991 and 992 which correspond to the 13th, 14th and 15th regnal years in this series, only A. D. 992, Tulā month, answers the description, 'Jupiter in Ṛishabha'. I suspect that '*iraṇḍām-āṇḍaikk-edir*' which is present in all the other Bhāskara Ravivarman dates has been left out in this case and that the regnal year is really the 15th." It records the

PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. B.

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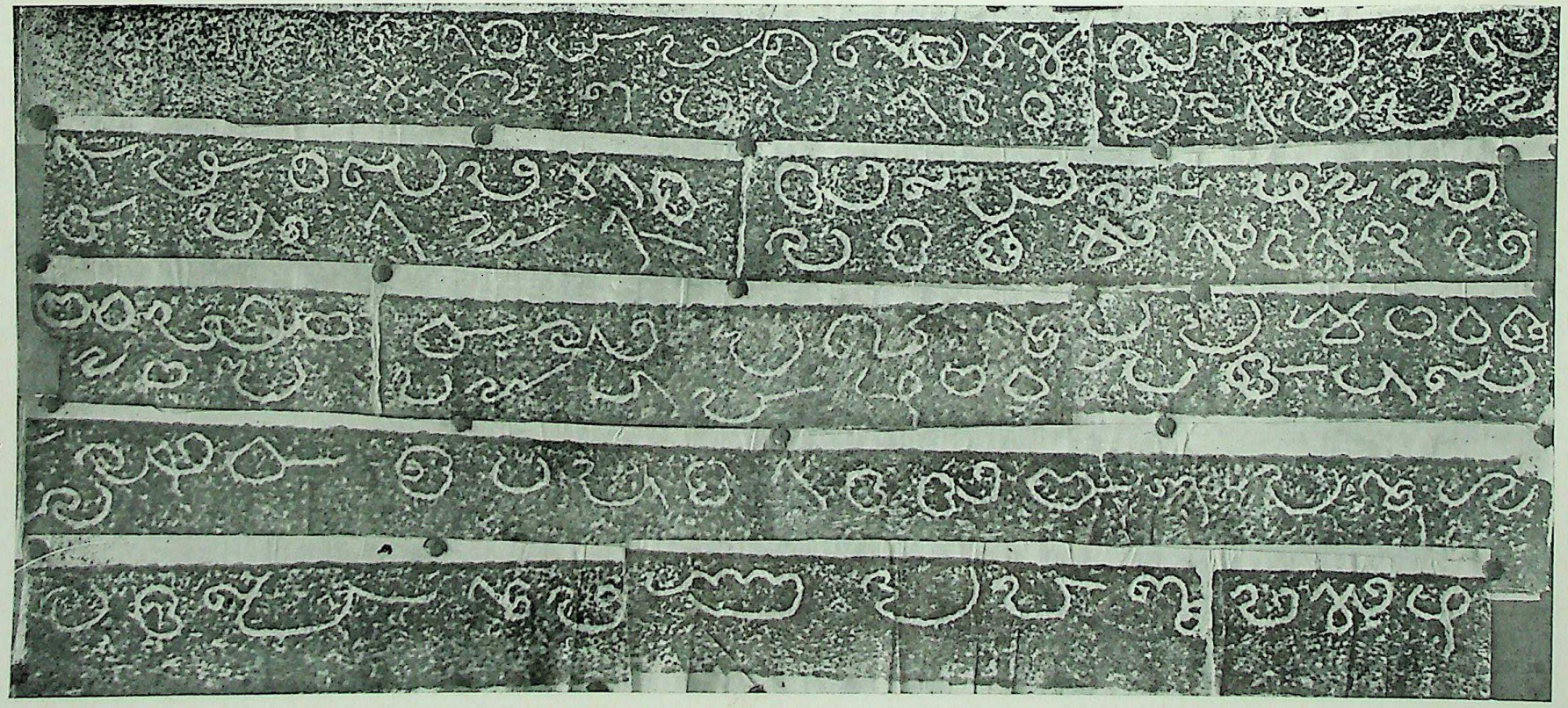
# PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. B.

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following arrangements resolved upon in the meeting of the townsmen (*ūrār*), the *paruḍaiyārs* and the *poduvāḷs* held in the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam ;

(*a*) The chief townsmen (*ūrāḷar*) and the *paruḍaiyār* (members of the council, *sabhā*, *parishad*) were prohibited from stopping the amount expended on the food-offerings to be made to the god, in burning the perpetual lamp, for feeding *brāhmaṇas* and in the recitation of the *Mahābhārata*, by deterring the tenants holding the lands set apart for these purposes from paying the rents to the temple and the *ūrāḷar* &c., were also prohibited from receiving the rents themselves.

(*b*) They were further prohibited from undertaking to pay the amounts by collecting the rent from the tenants, or to hold the tenancy themselves or to receive bribes in connection with the appointment of the officiating priests and the reader and expounder of the *Mahābhārata*.

(*c*) They should not allow the appointment of the officiating priests (*śānti śeyyumavarṉaḷ, pūjāris*) to last more than three years at a time.

(*d*) These *Ūrāḷar* and the *paruḍaiyārs* who held at the time of the meeting of the *ūrāḷars* &c. mentioned in this record the lands meant for the food-offerings and for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* should measure and deliver in the temple precincts the paddy due from them before the Tiruvōṇam (Śravaṇa nakshatra) day in the month of Iḍavam : those who hold the lands meant for the perpetual lamps should deliver one half of their dues on the Chitrai-vishu day and the other half on the Aippigai-vishu day. If the delivery is delayed for three days, they should pay double their dues ; if the payment is delayed for longer periods, they should not merely be obliged to recoup all the dues but also lose their tenancy.

(*e*) The income from those items that are set apart for the lamps and food-offering ; or for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and the lamps ; or for food-offering and feeding of the *brāhmaṇas* or for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* should not be appropriated to or spent upon one another, but must be expended only for those purposes for which they are intended.

(*f*) The officiating priests should not be permitted to hold the tenancy of the lands set apart for any of the purposes detailed above or occupy the position of a *paruḍaiyār*.....

(*g*) .....

(*h*) Those that actively help in obstructing the above arrangements or advising others to do so should be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḻañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *Sabha ;* in addition to this they should pay a fine of the same value to the god of the temple and to the then reigning king. The abettors in such illegal acts as those above mentioned should also pay a similar fine.

(*i*) The rent from lands set apart for burning lamps during the month Vṛiśchika (Kārttigai) should deliver the ghee for that purpose before the *saṅkrānti* of that month : there need be no sureties demanded for the punctual performance of the contract. But, if the lamp was allowed to remain unlit on account of the remissness of the persons responsible for the supply of the ghee, they should pay down a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the king.

Elsewhere it has been pointed out that *Śāstras, Purāṇas and Itihāsas* are required by the *āgamas* to be recited in temples every day and that for this arrangements were generally made either by the king or by private donors.

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Even now the person who does the *śānti* (or *pūja*) in a temple in Malabar is appointed only for a limited period say for three or six years, after which he should vacate his post in favour of another. This rule, very healthy in principle, is not observed in the temples of the other parts of the Madras Presidency. As has been remarked in the paper on the "Suchīndram Inscription of Rājarāja I," the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas in temples is a feature very peculiar to Ancient India and it still lingers in the usefully conservative Malabar Country alone. The rules regarding the conduct of the managers of the temples and of the *pūjāris* show clearly the need for such stringent measures for all times and have even now been producing good results in the conduct of the affairs in the temples.

## Text.

1. ஸஹ்ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோப்பாக்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
ஆறுமாண்டைக் கெதிரேழாமாண்டு இடபத்துள் வியாழங்நின்ற துலாஞா-
யிற்று திருக்கடித்தானத்து முக்கால்வட்டத்தவிரோதத்தால் ஊரும் பருடை-
யாரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூடிச்செய்த கருமமாவது [।*] பட்டாரகருடைய
திருவயிர்து நந்தாவிள-

2. க்குந் திருவக்கிரமு மாபாரதமு பூமியோடமைஞ்ஞ செலவித்திலுயும் (?)
புக்கு விலக்கவும் பொருள்கவரவு முட்டிக்கவும் பெரூர் [॥*] ஊராளரும்
பரடையாரு[ம்] இச்செலவு செலுத்தவும் பாட்டமாளவுஞ் சாந்திக்கு
மாபாரிதத்தினுங் கைக்[கூலி] கொள்ளப் பெரூர் [॥*] சாந்தி செய்யுமவரீள
மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெரூர் [॥*] ஊராளரும் பரடையாருந் திரிவமிர்-

3. தினுந் திருவக்கிரத்தினு மொள்ள பூமியுழுமவர் திருவமி[ர்தி]னு வித்துமக்-
கிரத்தினு உணக்கியுரிபோகி நெல்லு இடபஞாயிற்று திருவோணத்தின்
முன்னேய் முக்கால்வட்டத்து அளவு கொடுக்க கடவியர் [॥*] நந்தாவிள-
க்கு செலுத்துமவர் சித்திரை விழுவினு பாதியட்டக் கடவியர் [।*] நின்ற
பாதியுமப்பியை விழுவிதிகையட்-

4. டக் கடவியர் [॥*] மூன்றுநாள் முட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்
[।*] மிக முட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினோடுபாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர் [॥*]
திருவிளக்குந்திருவமிர்து(1) அக்கிரத்தினு மாபாரிதத்தினுமிவைஇத்திலு-
முள்ளது மற்றொன்றினு கொள்ளவுங் கொடுக்கவும் பெரூர் [॥*] அமைஞ்ஞ
செலவு செலுத்-

5. தவே கடவிது [॥*] சாந்தி செய்யுமவரையு அதினுல் கீழொள்ள [தயி ?]ஞ்ஞ
விருத்திப[ண்?]ணு[மவ]ரையுந் தானமும் பரடையுங் கொள்ளப்பெரூர் [॥*]
பரடை பாட்டமாளப்பெரூர் [॥*] பரடையுடையவரே பாட்டங் கொடுக்கப்-
பெரூரவராக் கடவபொன் புறத்தேல்க்கப்பெரூர் [॥*] இக்கச்சத்தில்ப் பட்-
டதினுக்கு விரோத[ம்*] பண்ணுவிதும் பறைவிதுஞ் செய்து மு-

6. ட்டிக்குமவர் பங்நிருகழைஞ்ஞே அஞ்சு காணம் பொன்றண்டப்படக் கடவி-
யர் பட்டாரகர்க்கு [॥*] அன்றூடு கோயில்க்கும் பங்நிருகழைஞ்சே அஞ்சு

(1) The portion of the inscription bearing on it the words ந்திருவமிர்து அக்கிரத்தினு மாபரிதத் is left off in the facsimile by the inadvertence of the half-tone block maker.

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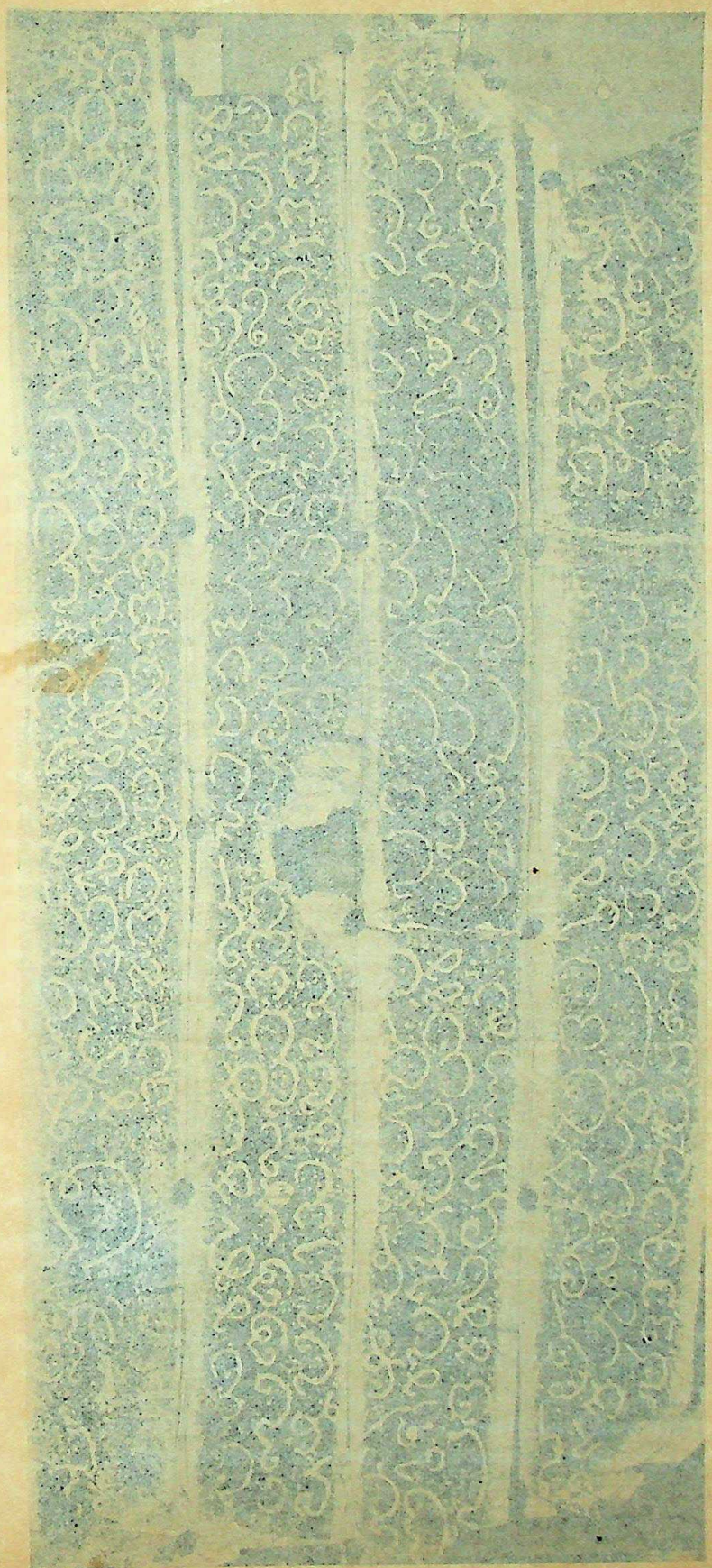

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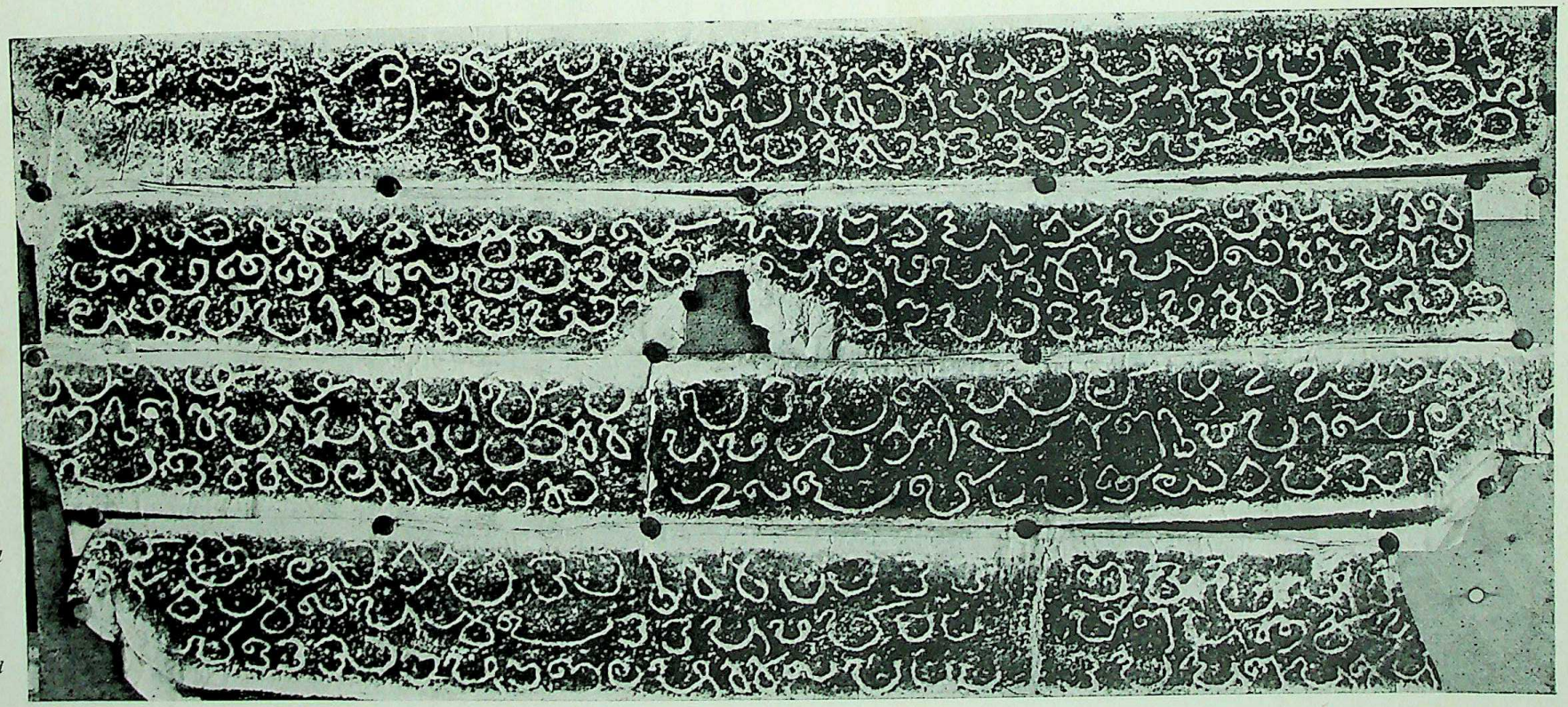
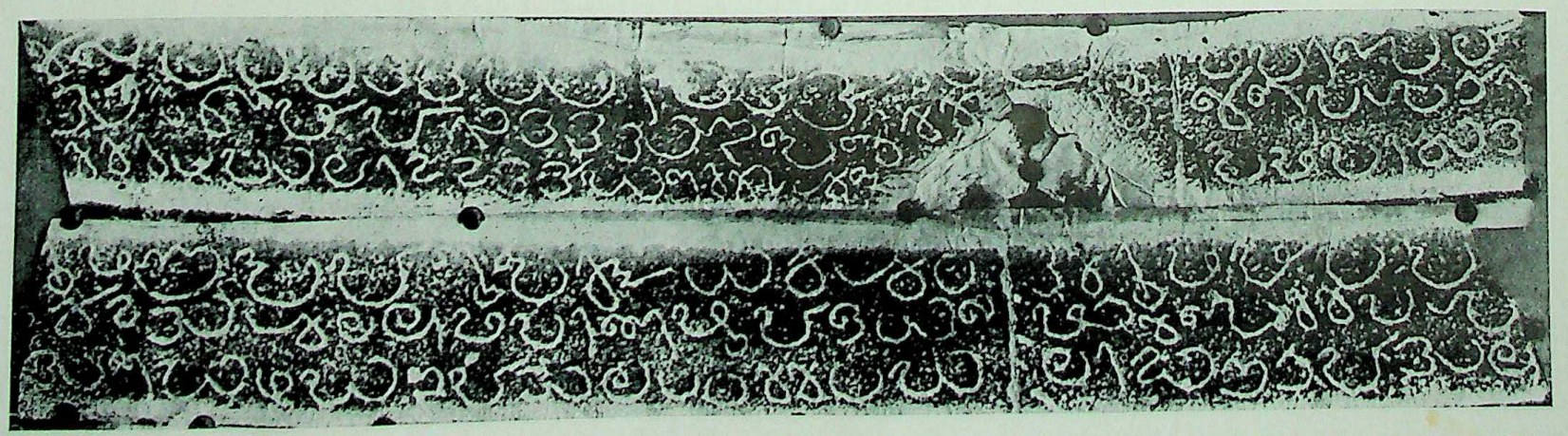
TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. C.

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SCALE O. 25.

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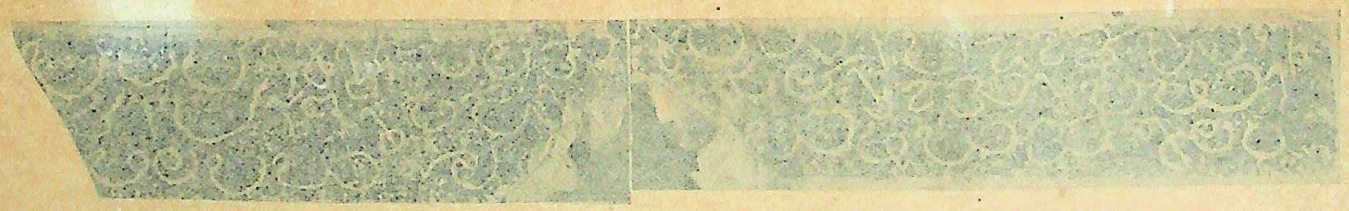
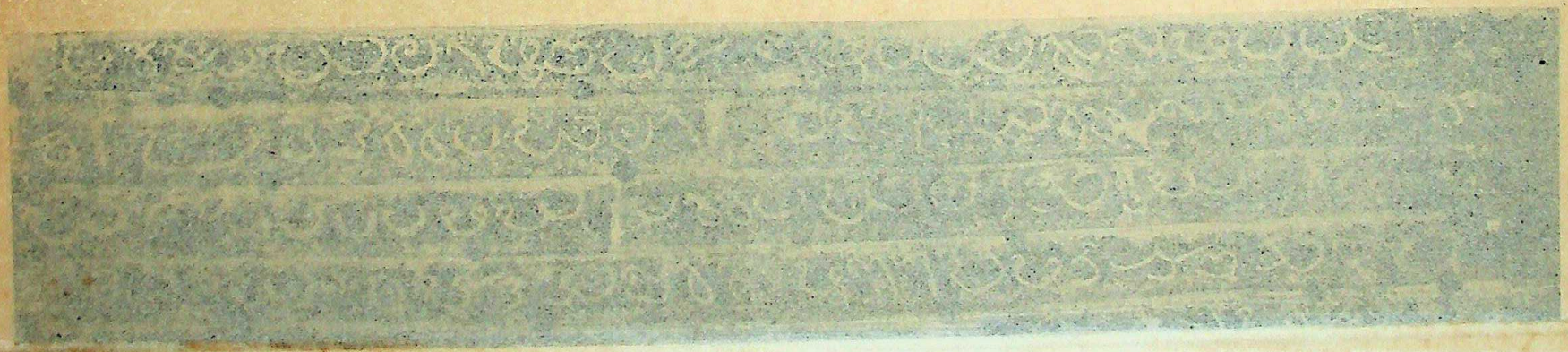
TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. C. *(Continued)*.





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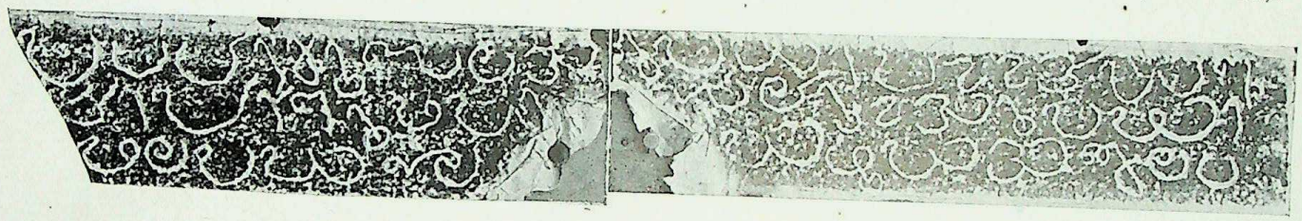
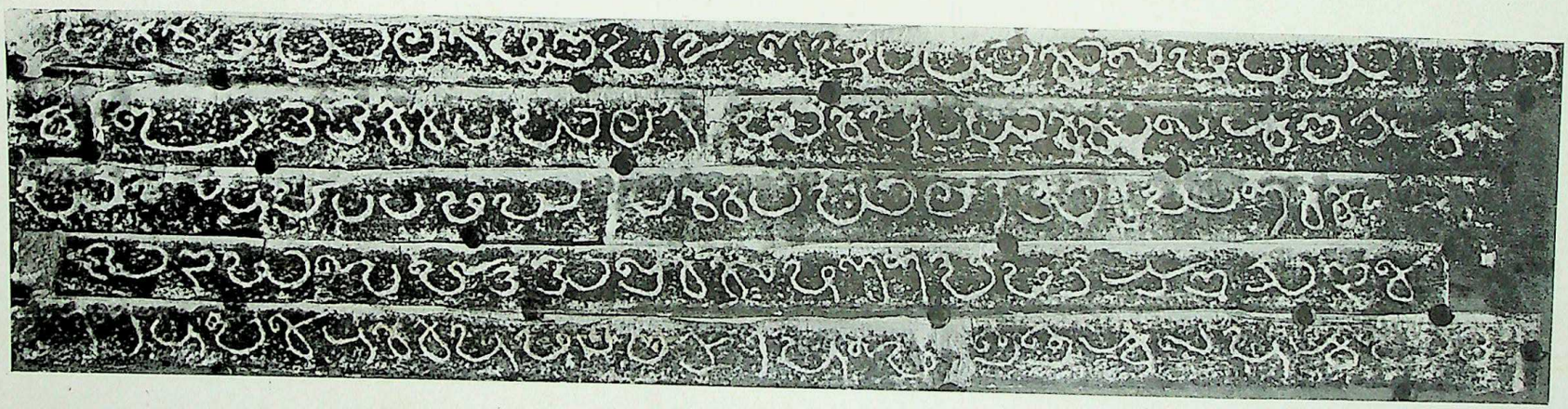
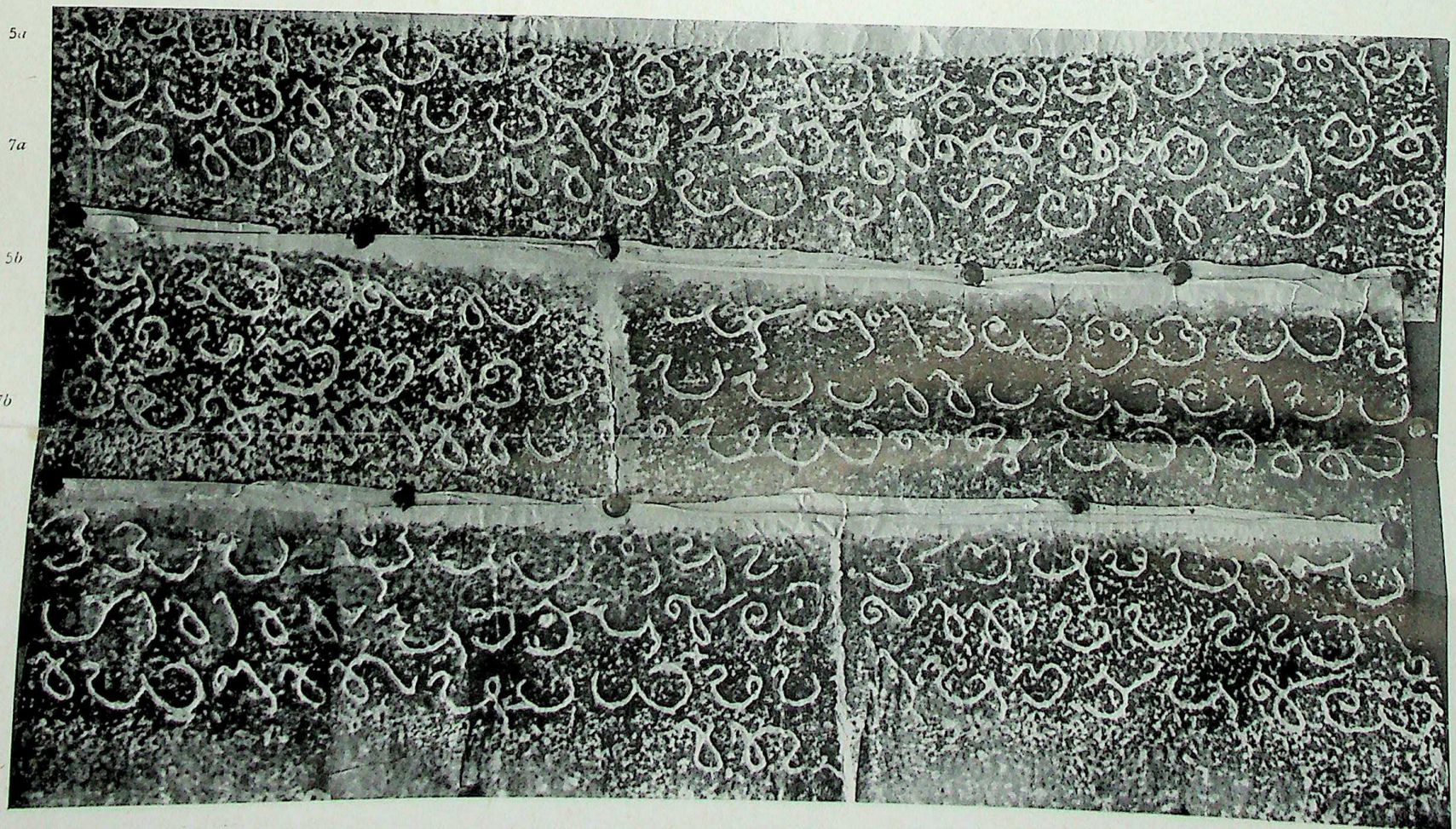
TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. C. (*Continued*).

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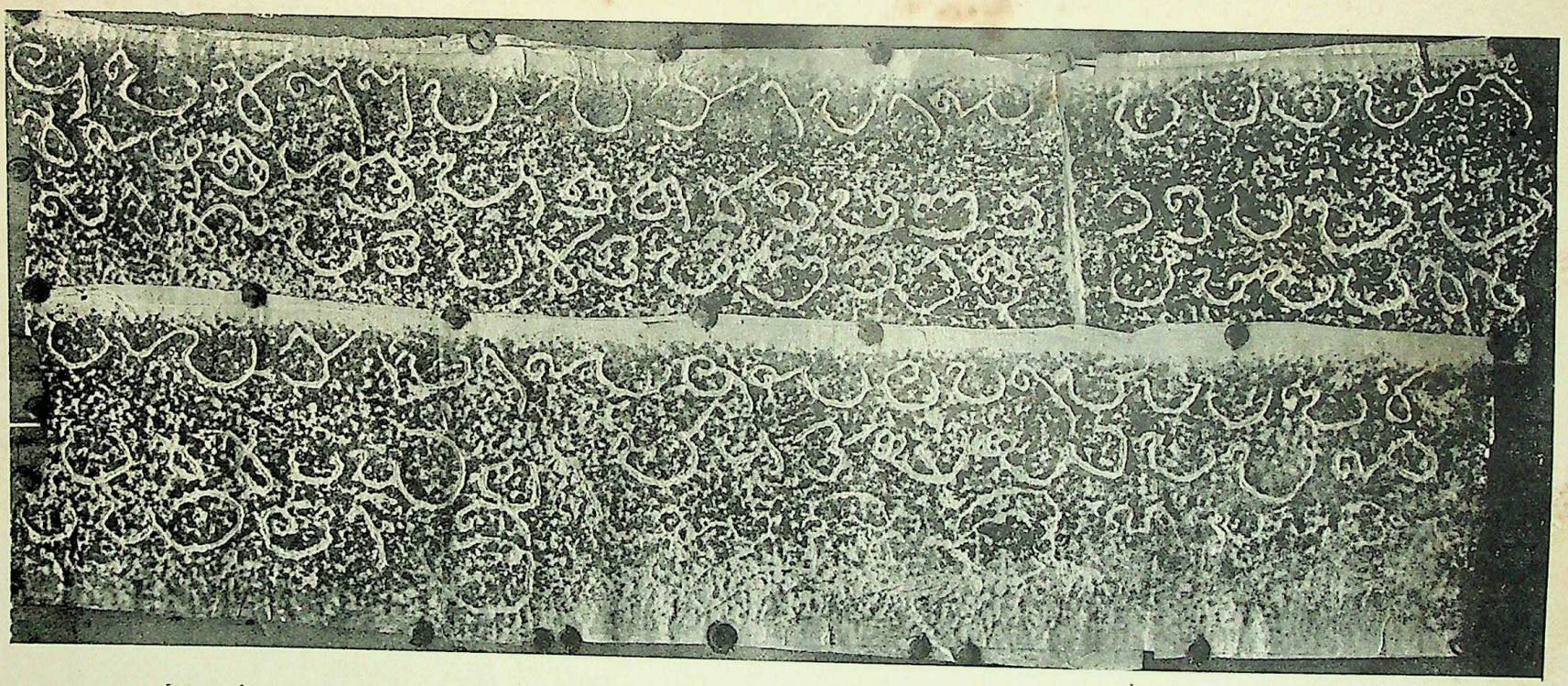
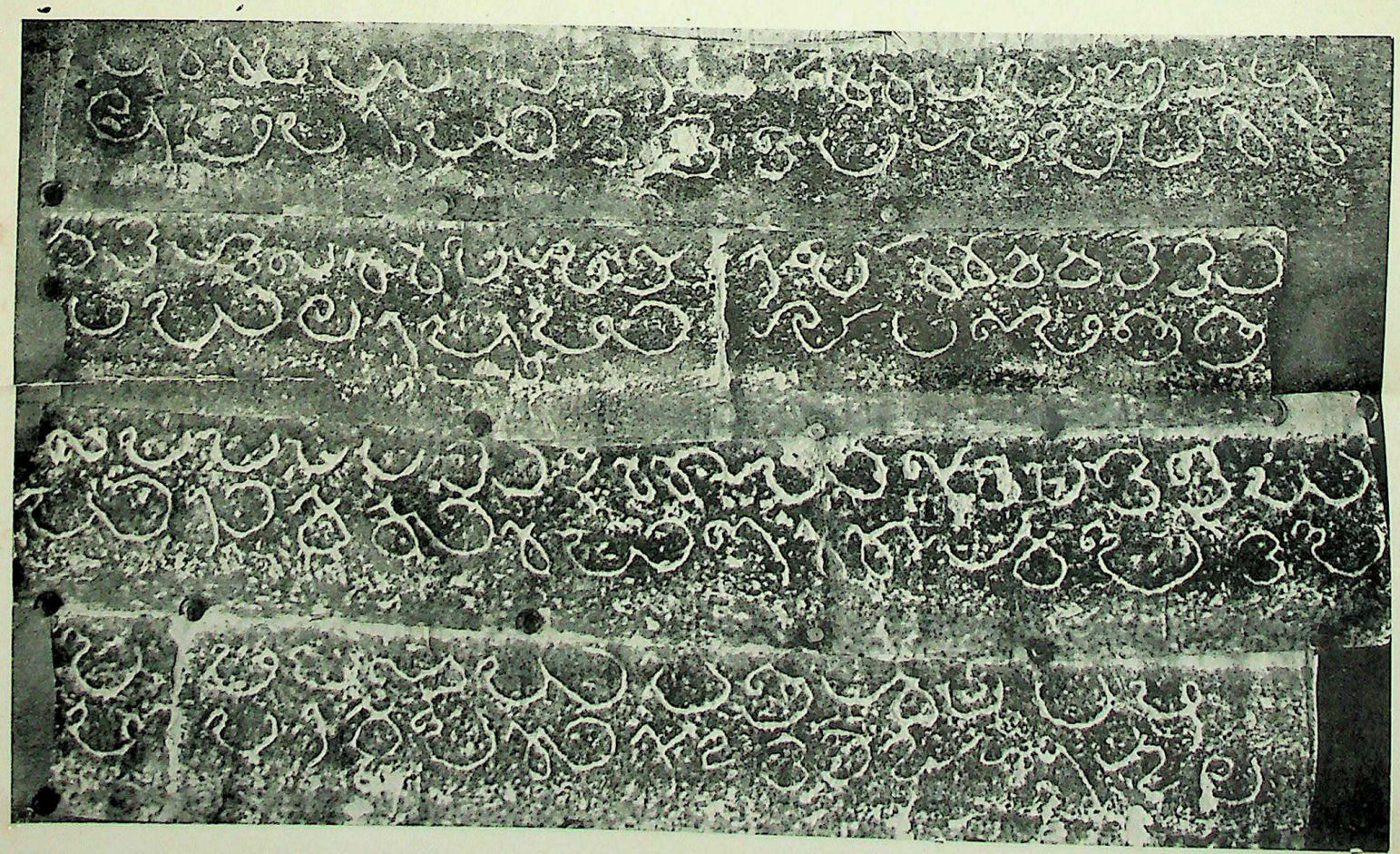
TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN C. *(Continued).*

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காணம் பொன்றண்டப்படக்கடவியர் [॥*] பாடுதாங்கிமவரையுமவருமி
தண்டமே படக்கடவியர் [॥*] பூமியோடமைஞ்ஞ விரிச்சிகவிளக்கு செலுத்த
மவர் சங்கிராந்தி நாளே நெய்-

7. தெகியட்டக் கடவியர் [॥*] நெய்க்கு பணையங்கொள்ளக் கடமையில்லை [॥*]
விரிச்சிகவிளக்கு முட்டிமவர் அன்றூடு கோயில்க்கு பத்துகாணம் பொன்
றண்டம் படக்கடவியர் [॥*] ஸ்ரீ.

## Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! In the meeting of the townsmen, the *paraḍaiyār* and the *poduvāḷs* held with harmony in the temple of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, in the seventh year opposite the sixth of (the reign of) Bhāskara Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Rishabha and (the solar) month Tulā, the following was the business transacted.

Line 2. No one shall stop the expenditure (of money) on the food-offering to be made to the Bhaṭṭāraka (god), the perpetual lamp, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas*, and (the reading) of the *Mahābhārata*, for which land has been granted; nor shall the money (due from the lands) be diverted (for other purposes); nor it be embezzled, (or collected), nor the charity be obstructed. The *ūrāḷars* and the *paraḍai* shall (collect and) remit the income (to the temple), but shall not take bribes for (the appointment of) the *Śānti* (-kkārs) and (the reader and expounder of) the *Mahābhārata*. They shall not allow more than three years' tenure of office for the *Śāntikkārs*.

Line 3. The *ūrāḷarṣ* shall (collect from) those who till the land (set apart for the purpose) and measure out before the temple seed-paddy for the rice-offering (to the deity) and the dried paddy for the feeding of the *brāhmaṇas*, before the Śravaṇa nakshatra day in the month of Rishabha. Those (that hold the tenancy of the land meant) for the perpetual lamp shall pay one half (of their dues) on the day of the Chittirai Vishu and the remaining half on the day of the Aippiśi Vishu.

Line 4. If these payments fall in arrears for three days, those (who are bound to make the payment in due time) shall be subject to pay double the dues. If the time during which the payment of this duty is neglected is too long, they shall pay all their dues and shall also abandon their tenancy of the land. The moneys meant for the (different) items of the lamp, namely, the food-offering, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and for the (reading and expounding of the) *Mahābhārata*, shall not be taken and diverted for any other purpose. They should be spent for the very purpose for which they were ear-marked.

Lines 5-6. The places of the *Śāntikkār* and the subordinate offices under him shall not be assumed by the *sthānattār* or the *paraḍaimār* (?). The *paraḍaimār* are prohibited from holding tenancy (of the temple lands) nor should they lease them out; the gold that they are to pay should not be got (illegally) from others (?). Those that do mischief (themselves directly) to this arrangement or (speak to and make others do the same) shall be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *bhaṭṭāraka* (the deity). (Besides this) they shall also pay to the then ruling king a fine of twelve *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The same fines shall be incurred by those who abet the former. Those that have taken the lease of the land meant for the lamp to be burnt in the month of Vṛiśchikam shall supply the ghee (required for it) on the very day of the *saṅkrānti* (of that month, that is on the day the sun enters the Vṛiśchika rāśi).

Line 7. There is no need for taking security for the supply of the ghee required for the Vṛiśchika lamp. Those that obstruct (the burning of) the Vṛiśchika lamp shall be obliged to pay a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the then reigning sovereign. Śrī.

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## D.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. I OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is engraved on the outside east base of the *śuṟṟu maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai, one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of the Malaināḍu. Till quite recently the superstructure of the temple was ruined and lost, the image in the central shrine broken into three pieces and a semblance of *pūjā* maintained in it. This temple is not only sacred to the Śrīvaishṇavas but also to all the Malayāḷis from the Cape Comorin to Gōkarṇam, the reputed boundaries of Kēraḷa: it is the deity of the temple of Tirukkākkarai that is invoked by the latter on their national festival the Ōṇam, and every house, however poor or rich it might be, offers *pūjā* to Him on that holy day. Such an important temple was in utter ruins till a few years ago; by the representations of the Śrīvaishṇava pilgrims, of the Svāmi of the Vānamāmalai maṭham and of the Archæological Department of Travancore, it was taken up for repairs by the Travancore Government; the repairs are almost completed and the reconsecration ceremony is to take place shortly. The small village of Tirukkākkarai is situated at a distance of about two and a half miles from Eḍappaḷḷi, the station next to Ernakulam on the Cochin State Railway; the approach to the place is rather difficult, the road leading to it being a narrow way not quite suited for wheeled-traffic; till lately there was no kind of building near the temple to accommodate pilgrims. A small rest house has recently been constructed by the Government for this purpose. Owing to the want of the facilities for transport and accommodation Tirukkākkarai was not so popular with the hundreds of Śrīvaishṇava pilgrims who visit Trivandram and are also eager to visit the other *divya-dēśams* of the Malaināḍu. If the road inconvenience is also removed, it is firmly believed that the place would become popular with this sect of *brāhmaṇas*.

This is one of the few temples on the West Coast which bears the largest number of lithic records; all of them have been copied and such of those as are of historical importance arranged for publication. The subjoined inscription is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḻ** language and is dated the **twenty-first year opposite the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**: it records certain gifts made to the temple by some private individuals; they were made on the **seventh day of the solar month of Mirichchigam (Vṛiśchika) when the Jupiter stood in the Makara-rāśi.** The equivalent of this date has been calculated by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai who writes about it as follows: "No. 102 of 1084 (of the Travancore Collection) 23rd year: Jupiter in Makara—Vṛischika month, 8th day (*ēḻu śeṉṟanāḷ*) A. D. 1000 (Oct.—Nov.) *N. B.* Had week-day or *nakshatra* been given, year could have been verified with certainty."

The preservation of the inscription not being good, it is rather difficult to make an accurate transcript and the reading now obtained is not without faults. It seems to record the gift of lands by some private persons for the burning of lamps during the Kārttigai month and for making offerings to the deity. The rice needed for the purpose is required to be supplied in the temple precincts before the midday of the day of Dhanishṭhā *nakshatra* in the solar month of Vṛiśchika. One half of the rice is set apart to be distributed among the Śrīvaishṇavas, perhaps those who go there on pilgrimage. The custom of measuring and delivering rice and paddy in a certain specified place in the temple and with the standard measures preserved in the temple is one of the most ancient customs often found recorded in South Indian inscriptions and strangely enough still lingers in Malabar, though its significance is now altogether forgotten. In the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram, there is a small four pillared *maṇḍapa* in the first *prākāra* in which is placed a measure which is locally known at present by the name of the *akshaya-pātra*. Rice required for the services of the temple is measured out with this standard and in the said *maṇḍapa*: and the people say that the measurement is made with the particular auspicious vessel because the temple affairs would then only be prosperous. The inscription under consideration, as also another one to be found in Mūḻikkaṭam, are of interest as showing that the Śrīvaishṇavas were

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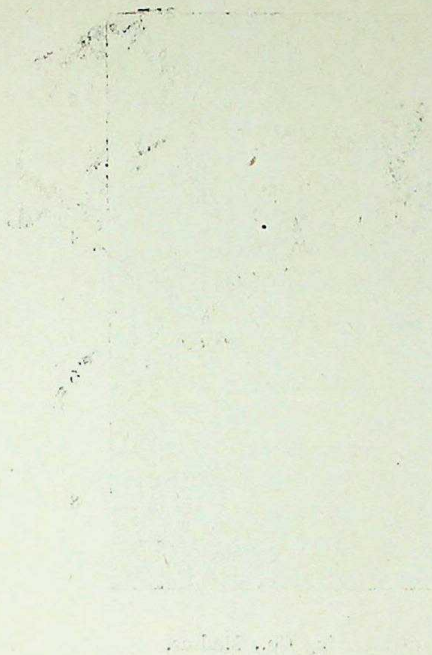

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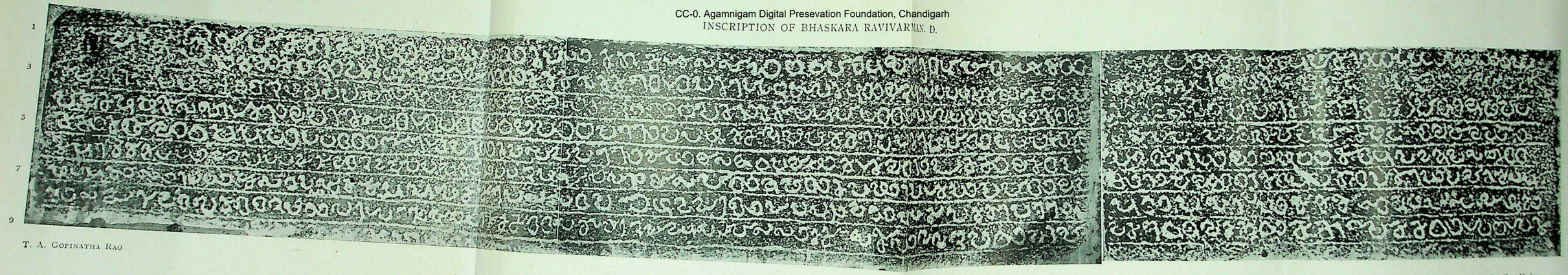
INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. D.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE O. 3.

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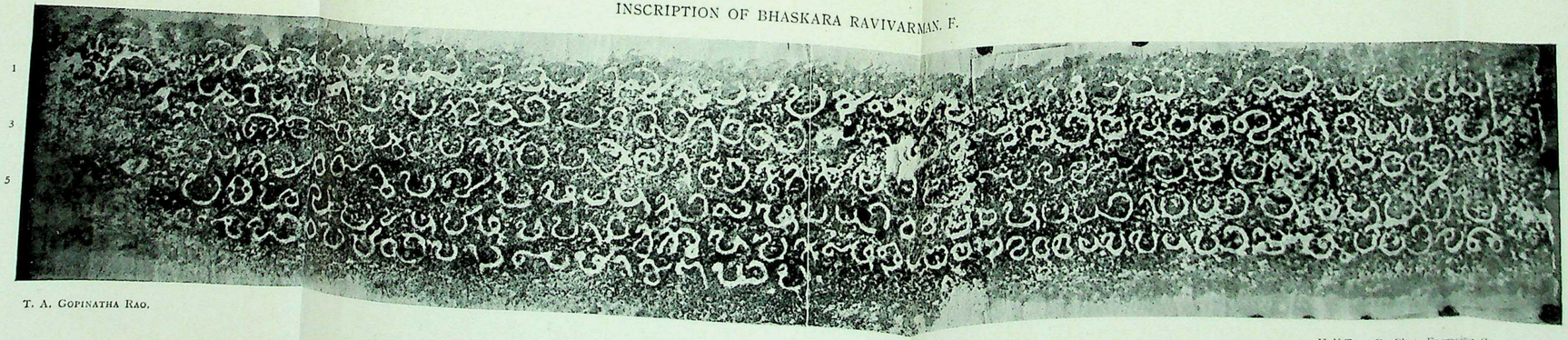
INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. F.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE O. 35.

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# PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. I.

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# TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. J.

1a
1b
1c
1d
1e
1f
1g
1h

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE O 26. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

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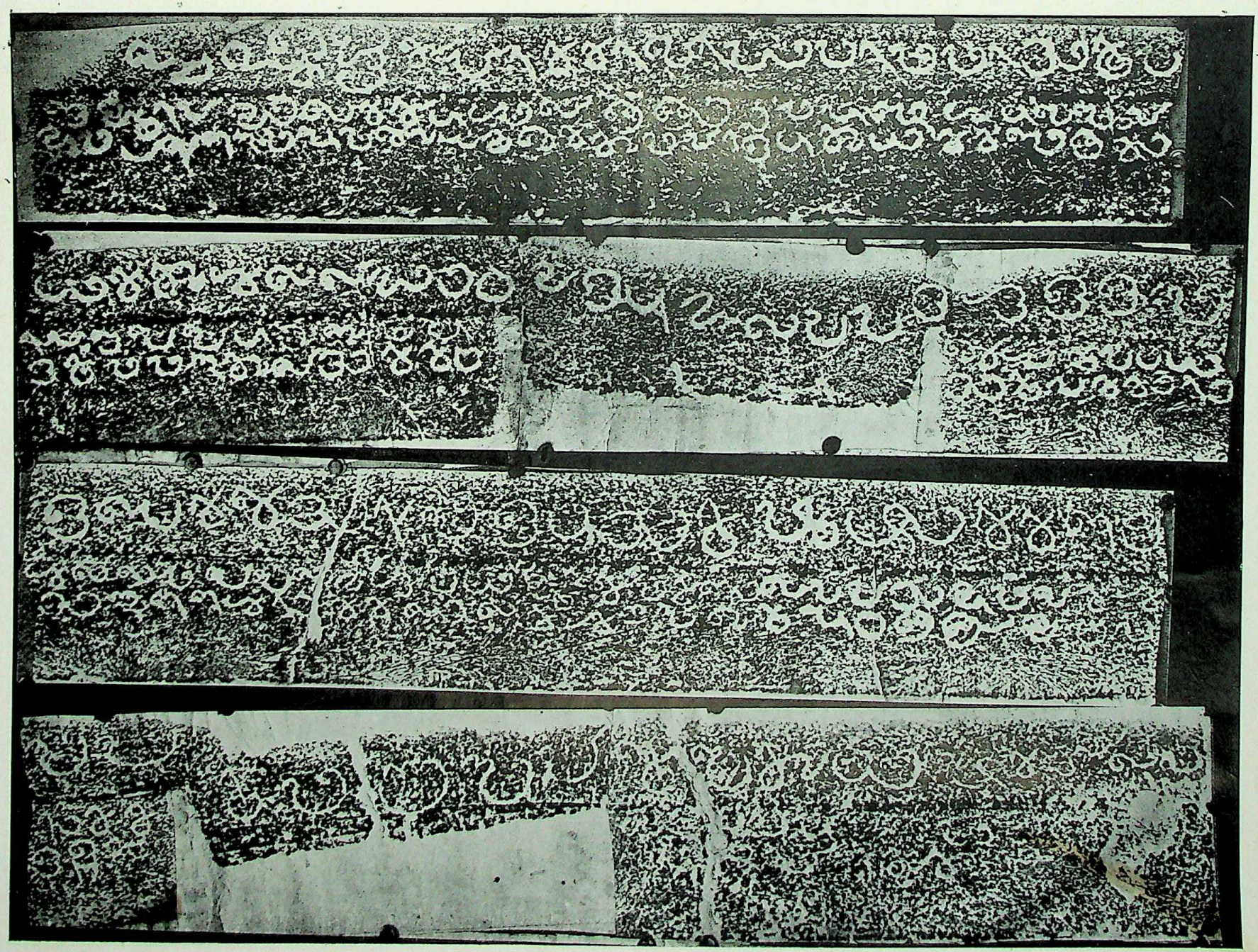
# TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. K.




T. A. Gopinatha Rao, SCALE_O. 23. Half-Tone By Photo Engraving Co., Madras.

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which Jupiter stood in the Ṛishabha rāśi, the townsmen of Peruneydal, the *paraḍaiyār* and the *poduvāḷs* met. (On this occasion) the . . . agreed to give to the *kōyiladhikāri* eighty *kalams* of paddy as the annual impost on the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. If they pay this (impost) they need not pay any other (tax) whatsoever. The king was pleased to say that they might show (in future) this letter (of his while carrying out this order). Having heard the king order thus, the *kōyiladhikāri* came here personally and got this engraved on stone by Iravi Kaṇṇi of Śōravellūr and Śrī Kumara Nārāyaṇaṉ.

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## J. TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF THE REIGN OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

This is a badly damaged inscription written, as usual, in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḻ** language. It belongs to the **forty**.....year **opposite the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman.** It records the donation made by a private individual to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam wherewith a perpetual lamp was required to be burnt in the temple. It is engraved upon the west base of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam.

### Text.

1. ஷஷ்ஹி ஸ்ரீ[ஃ॥*] ஸ்ரீ[ஃ॥*] கோப்பாற்கர இரவிவன்ம்மர் திரு[வ]டிக்[கு]ச்
[செல்].....மாண்[டை]க் கெதிராமாண்டு நால்ப்பத்[தேழு ?]ம் சென்ற தலாத்
தில் வியாழங்நின்ற.....திருக்கடித்தானத்து பட்டா[ர்*]க்கு மு[ர]க்
காட்டு இயக்கங்.....அமைச்ச செலவாவிது ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கு பந்தி....

(Damaged).

### Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the forty-seventh year (expired) opposite to the.....year of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Iravivarma Tiruvaḍi, when Jupiter stood in Tulārāśi..... the following is the item of expenditure for which Iyakkaṉ....of Murakkāḍu made arrangement for (the required capital) a perpetual lamp.....

---

## K. TIRUMŪḶIKKAḶAM INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirumūḷikkaḷam and is in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḻ** language. It is dated the **year opposite to the forty-eighth** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**; the portion of the inscription containing the name of the reigning sovereign, the date of the document, the name of the donor and the purpose and the shape of the donation is in good preservation, but the rest of it is almost obliterated and is consequently impossible to be made out. It records the gift of land by the king **Manukulādityaṉ** for the maintenance of an *agram* (feeding of Brāhmaṇas). It is curious to note that the inscriptions K, L and M are dated in quite a different manner from all other inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*viz*, A to J, the two Tirunelli grants, the Cochin plates &c.); that is, the year two which used to be quoted first, to which some other year was usually set opposite, is itself set opposite to some other year in L; in other words the order is reversed. In K, the year one is set opposite to the 48th; whereas, in M the year two is omitted altogether. On astronomical grounds Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai is inclined to believe that some of the documents should perhaps be attributed to a second Bhāskara Ravivarman. He writes:—
"Bhāskara Ravivarman II. In the 38th year of the last reign, (that is of the Bhāskara Ravivarman

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whose inscriptions are dated the 2nd year plus another year), Jupiter was in Ṛishabha, whereas in the 48th year of this reign (Makara month), he is in Siṁha (Tirunelli plate, Indian Antiquary XX, p. 285) and in the 49th year (Tulā month) he is in Tulā (No. 95 of 1086 of the Travancore collection). If all these three dates belonged to the same reign, Jupiter having been in Ṛishabha rāśi in the 38th year, would be in or near Ṛishabha again (not in Tulā 5 houses off) in the 49th year, Tulā month. Whether No. II Bhāskara Ravivarman reigned before or after No. I Bhāskara Ravivarman it is not possible to say. His reign may have begun as early as A.D. 929 or as late as 1021. Palæography should be able to throw some light on this point". Palæography unfortunately does not throw any light whatsoever, all the documents noticed hitherto being written in the same kind of Vaṭṭeḻuttu, practically of the same period. At present the question of the possibility of the existence of two Bhāskara Ravivarmans cannot be considered for want of sufficient materials and must remain open until fresh evidences are obtained.

### Text.

1. ஷஹஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோபார்க்கர இரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்தெண்ணுமாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு திருமூழிக்களத்து ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங்கூடி முக்கால் வட்டத்[து இ]ருந்து அவிரோதத் தால்ப் பண்ணின கச்சமாவது [।*] மனுகுலாதிச்சன் திருவக்கிரத்தினு கொடுத்தருளின [சே]ரிக்காலா[வது]....யி [பூய]த்து பறம்பு பெரும்பறம்பு கோ-

2. தையூர் வாயில்க்காடு மேலாஞ்ஞி[னி]ப் புழைநெடுங்ங[ன்] பார்(?) பணைங் ஙாடு த....[பு]ல வெருபட்டி செல்லமங்ஙலந் தோட்டி [பூ].....சை மக ளில்ப் பாதியும் [இ]ச்சேரிக்க[ா].....ருப்பு....காரா[ண்]மை ...மவனும் கோ[விங்ங]....ச்செ கோம....ளும்.....ழி....ள....[க]ச்ச..... ...

3. யும் [வே]ளனும் அகு.....டெய ஒக்கும் இரண்டு குடிக்கமைஞ்சிதரும் மனு குலாதிச்சன் திருவக்திரத்தினுள்ள சேரிக்காலில் சென்று ஒரு அன்ஞ்ஞாயம் பண்ண.....யார் இருங்ஙாடி கண்[டவு]ம் [அ]யிராணிக்களத்தும் ஊரவா ரியரும். ண[பொ]ற்றுதன் கோதை....னராயிதனுங்கு....

### Abstract of Contents.

Hail! Prosperity! The following arrangement was made unanimously by the townsmen and the *poduvāḷs* who met in the temple at Tirumūḻikkaḷam, in the year opposite to the forty-eighth of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi:—The *chērikkals* (lands on the slopes of hills) which Manukulādichchaṉ was pleased to set apart for the feeding of brāhmaṇas (*agram*) in his name are: Pūyattu-paṟambu, Perumbaṟambu, Kōdaiyār-vāyil-kkāḍu, Mēlāññinippulai, Neḍunganpār (?), Paṉaiṅṅāḍu,.....Pulaiverupaṭṭi, Chellamangalam and one half of Tōṭṭipusai.....(the rest of the inscription is damaged and fragmentary. In one portion it is said that no one shall do injustice to the *agram*).

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## L. TIRUKKĀKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is also engraved on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai and is also in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and the **Tamiḻ** language. It is dated **the second year opposite to the year forty and odd**; the portion containing the odd year is damaged and therefore cannot be read with certainty; in this year **Jupiter was in the Mīna rāśi.**

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TIRUMUKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMA. A. (Continued.)

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co. Madras

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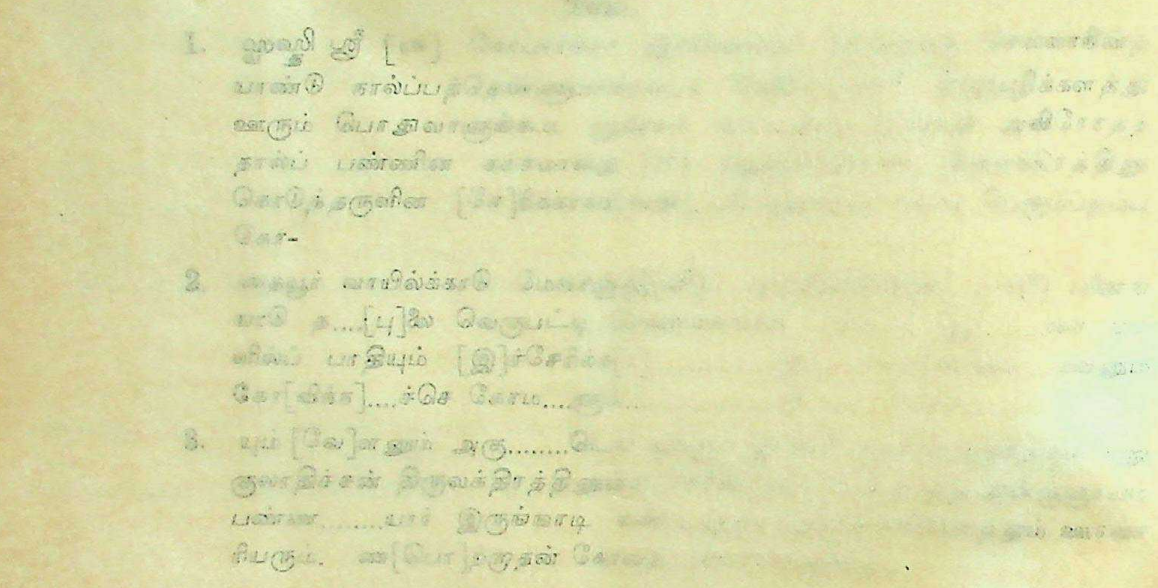


[illegible] whereas in the [illegible] Antiquary XX. p. [illegible] of the Travancore collection. [illegible] in Rishabha [illegible] in the [illegible] year. [illegible] Rs. 1 [illegible] Eastwoman is [illegible] or as late as [illegible] Palaeography [illegible] tionately does not [illegible] the same kind of Vaṭṭe[illegible] possibility of the existence [illegible] materials and must remain [illegible]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [illegible]
யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்தெண்ணாறு [illegible]
ஊரும் பொதுவாளுக்கும் [illegible]
நால்ப் பண்ணின [illegible]
கொடுத்தருளின [illegible]
கோ-

2. [illegible]
[illegible] த....[பு]லை வெருபட்டு [illegible]
[illegible] பாதியும் [இ]ச்சேரிக்க [illegible]
கோ[விக்க]....ச்செ கோம....[illegible]

3. [illegible] [வே]ளனும் அகு.....[illegible]
[illegible] திருவக்திரத்தி[illegible]
பண்ண.....யார் இருங்காடி [illegible]
[illegible] ரியரும். ண[பொ]ருதன் கோ[illegible]

Abstract of Contents.

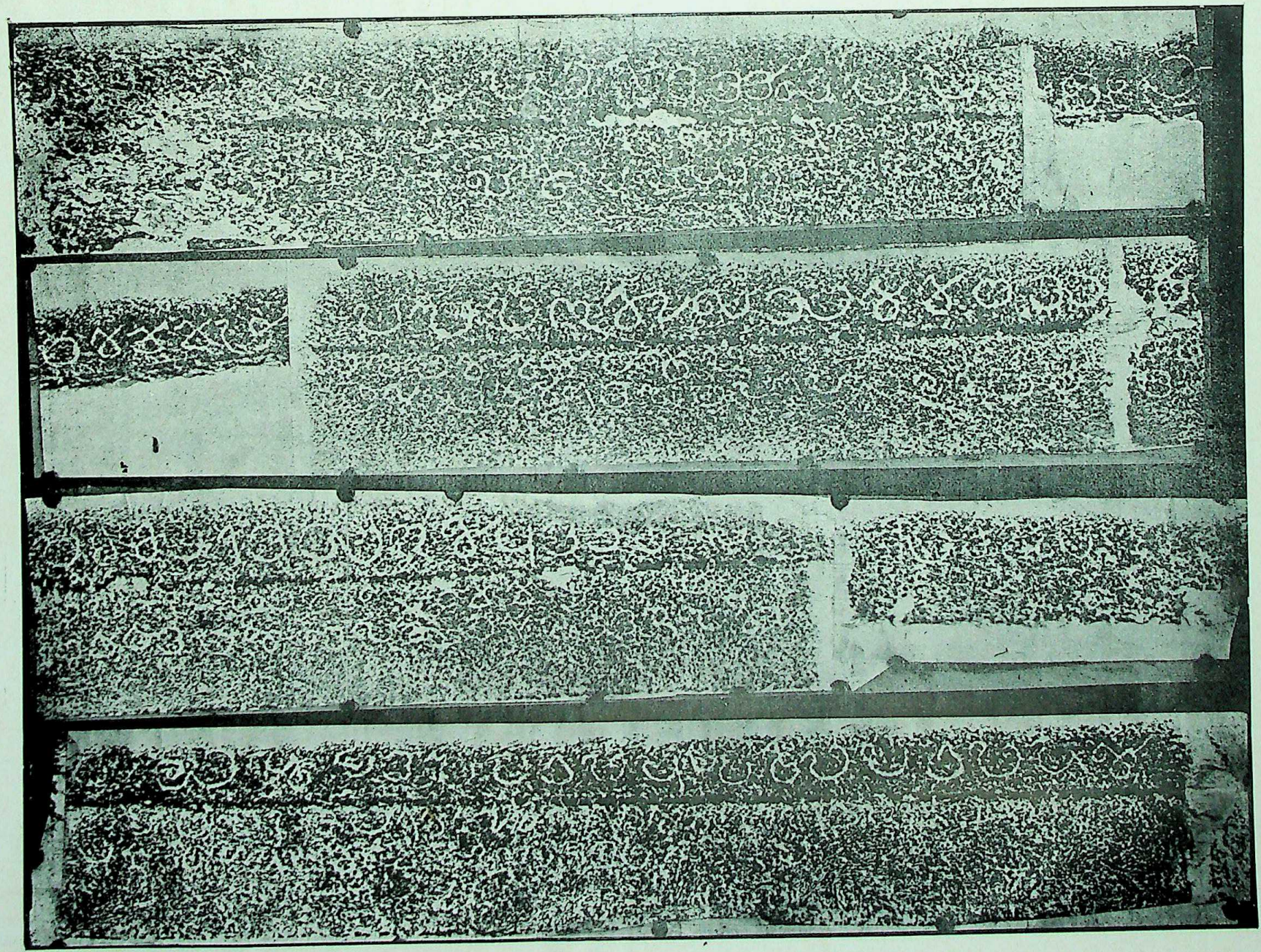
Hail! Prosperity! The following arrangement [illegible] by the two women and the *poduvāls* who met in the temple at Tirum[illegible] forty-eighth of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma [illegible] the slopes of hills) which Manukulādichchaṇ was pleased to [illegible] (*agram*) in his name are: Pūyattu-paramba, Perumbaramba, [illegible] pulai, Neḍunganpār (?), Paṉaiṅṅāḍu,.....Palaiverupaṭṭi, [illegible] sai.....(the rest of the inscription is damaged and fragmentary [illegible] one shall do injustice to the *agram*).

## L. TIRUKKĀKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN

The subjoined inscription is also engraved on the base of the front [illegible] temple at Tirukkākkarai and is also in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ [illegible] dated the second year opposite to the year forty and odd, the portion containing [illegible] damaged and therefore cannot be read with certainty; in this year Jupiter was in the [illegible]

TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. K. *(Continued.)*

1*c* 2*c* 3*c* 1*f* 3*f* 1*g* 3*g* 1*h* 2*h* 3*h*



T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE 0. 23. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co. Madras

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The inscription records that Gōvindaṉ Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ of Kuvalāyini gave to the temple at Tirukkākkarai forty *kaḻañjus* of gold, which was received by Puṟaiyaṉ Kālkkarai of Neḍiya-taḷi, on the following conditions:—

(1) The latter had purchased for the sum paid by the former the lands known as..... .....(here the inscription is damaged), Mānāḍu, [Ā] lakkāḍu, the hills, &c., that are included in it; from the income of these lands, he was to supply a hundred *nāḻis* of rice as measured by the *muṉṉānāḻi* and by the same measure two *nāḻis* of ghee, beginning from the Pūrāḍam (Purvāshāḍha) nakshatra, up to the Ōṇam (Śravaṇa) nakshatra.

(2) The specified quantity of rice and ghee should be brought to the temple before the *pannirāḍi* time of the day (*agattu pannīraḍi*) and the rice offering made to the deity at the *pūjā* performed at the *pannīraḍi* time.

(3) The rice offered to the god should be divided into two equal parts, of which one half should be spent in feeding the Brāhmaṇa Śrīvaishṇavas. Of the other half twentyfour *nāḻis* (measured by *muṉṉānāḻi*) should be given to the *pūjāris*) *emberumakkaḷ*), six *nāḻis* to him who supplies to the temple flower garlands, six *nāḻis* to the person who cleans the temple ground with cowdung and (perhaps the remaining fourteen *nāḻis* were to be utilised) for the purchase of twenty-four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṅgaḻi*, four *nāḻis* and one *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind..... and for leaves, (curds &c); the portion of the inscription after this is ill-preserved and difficult to read.

## Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோப்பாக்கரை[ரவிவன்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்]லாநி[ன்]ற யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்..... ...ண்டைக்கெதிர் இரண்டாமாண்டு மீனத்தில் வியாழங்நிற்கச் செய்த கருமமாவது [।*] குவலாயினிக் கோவிங்நங்குன்றப்-போழனுடை(1) நால்ப்பதின் கழைஞ்சு பொன் கொ[ண்]டு நெடியதளிப் புறை-யங்கால்க்கரை இப்பொன்னினு

2. [த]ான் நேடிக்கொண்டக.....க்க.....னசாலை [யா ?]ர்க.....மாநாடு [ஆ]லக்காடுமவற்றினுபடும் ம[லையு]ங் கரையும் கொண்டு திருக்கால்[க*]ரை பட்டார[கர்]க்குப் பணி பூராடத்துடங்கி ஓணத்தளவுஞ் முன்நாநாழியால் நூற்றுநாழிச் செய்தரியும் முந்நா[நா]ழியால் இருநாழிச்செய்து நெய்யுங்-கொண்டு அகத்து பங்நீராடியில் மு[ன்]வந்து திருவமிர்து செய்விச்சு பாதி-யுங்கொண்டு பி-

3. ராம்மணருஞ் சிரிவைண்ணவரையு[ம்*] அமிர்து செய்விச்சு மற்று அரிம்-முந்நாநாழியால் எம்பெருமக்கள்க்கு இருபத்து நாநாழியும் பள்ளித்தாமத்-தினு அறுநா[ழி]யுந் திருவலகினு அறு நாழியும் பிராமணர் அமிர்தினு தேங்-ஙாயிருபத்துநாலு உப்பு இடங்கழி நால்நாழி[வு]ரி புளி அறுபலம்....பலிக்கு ....ழி இதின்னுவேண்டு மீலையும் விறகு-

4. [ம்]....த[யிறி]ன்னுளா இரண்டு [வுரி]

(Incomplete).

(1) Read போழனிடை.

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**Translation.**

Hail! Prosperity! The business which was done when the year two opposite to the forty.....of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, when Jupiter was in the Mīna rāśi, was (as follows): Puṟaiyaṉ Kālkkarai of Neḍiyataḷi, having received from Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ of Kuvalāyini forty *kaḻañjus* of gold, purchased (?) .....Mānāḍu, Ālakkāḍu, including the hills and lands that are, within them, and agreed to supply from the day of the Pūrāḍa nakshatra to that of Ōṇam (each month), within the 'twelve-feet' time (of the day) one hundred *nāḻis* of rice, as measured by the *munnānāḻi* and two *nāḻis* of ghee measured by the *munnānāḻi*; he further agreed to see that the offering was made in proper time. Of the rice that is offered, one half is to be utilised for feeding brāhmaṇas and Śrīvaishṇavas; out of the remaining half, the *pujāris* (*emberumakkaḷ*) should be given twenty four *nāḻis* measured by *munnānāḻi*; for flower garlands, six *nāḻis*; for cleaning the temple premises (*tirualagiḍudal*) six *nāḻis*; twenty four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṅgaḻi* and four *nāḻis* and *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind, leaves, fuel and curds are also to be supplied for the feeding of the brāhmanas.

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M.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. V OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The very ill-preserved record edited below is also to be found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is dated the **fifty-eighth year** of the king **Bhāskara Ravivarman; in this year Jupiter stood in the Simha rāśi.** It informs us that one Kēraḷam Pōḷaṉ took up the *kārāṇmai* of certain lands for which he bound himself to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple and to pay a certain quantity of paddy. Dēvaṉpādāṉ, Perumudiyaṉ and the Poduvāḷs of Tirukkākkarai were appointed receivers of the above mentioned paddy. The Kēraḷaṉ (the holder of the *kārāṇmai*), the men of the *padavāram* and the two families of Poduvāḷs should supervise the harvesting (*kaṇkāṇichchu*) and pay the salary of the *mēlśānti emberumāṉ*. The rest of the inscription is fragmentary; at the end of the document are the signatures of a number of Brāhmaṇa sādhus.

The words *padavāram* and *śānti śeyyum emberumāṉ* or *emberumakkaḷ* occur in this and in other inscriptions. For instance, the word *padavāram* occurs in the plate of Rajaśēkhāra; and *kōppadavāram* and *padippadavāram* occur in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam. It appears from these terms that certain taxes were levied upon the gross income of lands belonging to big landlords which are taken out on lease by tenants, which was perhaps a tenth part; and these went to the landlords by virtue of their being the lords of the land; *kōppadavaram* means the *vāram* (portion) which is allotted to the holder of the position of a king and similarly *padippadavāram*, the *varam* allotted to the holder of the position of a *pati* (a smaller position than that of a king); that this is the probable meaning becomes patent from the Kōṭṭayam plates wherein there actually figure a *kō* (the king Sthāṇu Ravi) and two *patis* (the Puṉṉaittalaippadi and the Āṉaikkuḍippadi).

The words *emberumāṉ* and *emberumakkaḷ* literally mean 'our lord' and 'the class of men who are our lords' respectively and are usually employed by the lower classes towards their higher class people: for instance, a Śūdra addresses a Nambudiri as *embrāṉ*, which is contracted into *mbrāṉ*; a *Tachchaṉ*, an *Īḻavaṉ* or a *Vāḷaṉ* calls a *Śudra* by the same *mbrāṉ*. It is the word *emberumāṉ* that has given rise to the modern word *embrāndiri* as applied first to the *śāntikkārs* in temples and secondly, from the fact that the majority of these are Tuḷu-Brāhmaṇas of the South Kanara District, to the members of this sect of brāhmanas. The words *embrāndiri*, Nambudiri, Sōmatiri, akkidiri &c.,—ending in *tiri*—are in my opinion, composed of, two words, the first of which are emberumāṉ, Nambu, etc., and the second *tiru* the honorific suffix; in common language they change into *embrāndri*, *Nambudiri*, etc.

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## Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோபாக்கரனிரவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ஐம்-பத்தெட்டாமாண்டு சிங்ஙத்தில் வியாழங்நின்றவாண்டு சாலவேலி கேரளம்-போழன் கொண்டகாராண்மை [க]ற்ற[ஞ]தத(?)....வ[ர]ளும் பூமிங்ஙம்(?) செல்லும் செலவு [ஒ]ரு ந்தாவிளக்கு காராளன் செலுத்த கடவன் [।*] செலுத்திச்சு கொள்வானமைஞ்ஞார் திருக்கால்க்கரை தேவ[ங்]ன்பாடன் பெருமுதியன் பொதுவாளு[ம்*] [॥*] ஒன்பதினால் ஒன்ப[தி]ன் நூற் [று]ல் ந[ர]லு....மிதுகாராளனு பதவாரம்மாக்க[ஞ்][ம்*] இரண்டுகுடி பொதுவாள்ம[ர]-

2. ரும் கூடி கண்காணிச்சு மேல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமான் சிவிதமு[ம்*] ஆ..... [மைஞ்சி] த்து செலுத்தக்[க]டவர் [॥*]. இது காராளனுய இரவிகோ வின்நநும்...செ.....ஓரோ [தூணி] நெல்லு.....யால்ச.....வா...தி..... லக்குவிப்போம்.....ள்ளிகைவ்வட்டகையு[ம்*] வச்சு அ[க]த்தெழுந் நள்[ளி]...டது [॥*] இதறியுஞ் சாதுக்க[ள்] நெய்தல் மங்ஙலத்து கேசவ ங்கே...

3. .....மேருமணிக்காட்[டு] கேயவனு]ம் [வண்ட] பாடி நாராயண.....காட்ட கடவ.....கோவிந்நன் [சா]த்த[னும்] கண்ணஞ் சேந்நனு.....

(The rest of the inscription is badly damaged and is therefore illegible).

## Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! While the fifty-eighth year of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, the year being one in which Jupiter stood in the Siṁha rāśi, the *kārāṇmai* taken by Kōraḷaṇ Pōḷaṇ of Śālavēli.....The holder of the *kārāṇmai* (*kārāḷaṇ*) shall bear the cost of (burning) one perpetual lamp. Dēvarpāḍaṇ, Perumudiyaṇ and the *poduvāḷ*, of Tirukkālkkarai constituted themselves as agents to receive this (perhaps the amount due for the lamp).....The *kārāḷaṇ*, the people of the *padavāram* (that is, either those paying the *padavāram* or receiving it) and the two families of *poduvāḷs* shall supervise this and arrange to pay the salary of the *mēl-śāntikkāraṇ* (the chief *pūjāri*)..... (The rest of the document is damaged and no sense could be made out of the fragment).

## POSTSCRIPT.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai was good enough to furnish me with the following note on the dates of the various inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman :—

"I have been working for the better part of two days at these Bhāskara Ravivarman dates. There are two which deserve the calculator's special attention ; *viz.*,

(1) 14th year; Jupiter in Makara, Mīna month past 20, Sunday and Punarvasu nakshatra.

(2) 43rd year ; Jupiter in Tulā, Mīna month past 8, Wednesday, Uttara nakshatra, *i.e.*, Uttara-Phalguni.

The first equivalents to these dates which deserve consideration are :—

(1) A.D. 1060, Sunday, March 12 (Mīna 20), on which day Punarvasu nakshatra began at $12\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, ending next day at 13 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. On 12th March

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A. D. 1060, Jupiter's mean longitude was 290.55 degrees and he was in Makara. His actual geocentric longitude was about the same.

(2) A.D. 1021, Wednesday, March 1 (Mīna 9); on which day Uttara Phalguni nakshatra commenced at 3 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise ending next day at sunrise. On 1st March 1021 A.D., Jupiter's mean longitude was 186.08 degrees which was in Tulā rāśi.

It will be noticed that the interval between these dates is 39 years and that the 14th regnal year (A.D. 1060) is later than the 41st or 43rd (A.D. 1021). If these be the dates, the regnal years must belong to two different kings.

Two other years rank next as equivalents to these. They are given by the 95 years cycle, which means that after 95 years Jupiter's rāśi, the solar month and day, weekday and nakshatra may all be repeated. Thus we find that in A.D. 1060+95=A.D. 1155, on Sunday, March 13 (20th Mīna) the longitude of Jupiter was 293 degrees, *i.e.*, he was in Makara rāsi; Punarvasu nakshatra began on this day and ended next day at 14½ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise and the day was the 20th of Mīna month. Similarly, in A.D. 1021+95=A.D. 1116, on Wednesday, March 1st (9th Mina), Uttara was perhaps regarded as the nakshatra current at sunrise, though strict computation by the equal space system shows that Uttara nakshatra had come to end 12 *palas* or 8 minutes *before* sunrise. On Wednesday (local time does not help in the matter for any longitude west of Salem), Jupiter's longitude on this day was 189°09 degrees which was in Tulā. Even if the '8th Mīna date' was supposed to be this, and the '20th Mīna' date taken as A. D. 1060, the interval between the earlier and the later date (A. D. 1060 and 1116) would be 56 years and not anything like the interval between 14th regnal year and 43rd regnal year.

Making allowance for the fact that the longitude of Jupiter according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* about A. D. 1001 was 10½ degrees less than the actual mean longitude of Jupiter according to modern astronomy, we may suppose that A. D. 1105, Wednesday, March 1 (=Mīna 8th), when Uttara nakshatra began at 38½ *ghaṭikās*, ending next day at 42½ *ghaṭikās*; and on which Jupiter's mean longitude, according to *Sūrya-siddhānta*, was 205 degrees (modren astronomy 215 degrees), was the day intended in the 43rd regnal year.

In this case the '20th Mīna' date (14th regnal year) would have preceded the '8th Mīna' date by 45 years (not by 29 years as required). An interval of less than 45 years between the earlier and later regnal years (supposing they belonged to the same reign) is not possible. The interval may have been 56 years (A.D. 1060 and A.D. 1116) or '20th Mīna' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155) may have belonged to the 14th regnal year of a reign later than the one to which the 43rd regnal year with '8th Mīna' date belonged (A. D. 1021 or A. D. 1116).

There are therefore three suppositions possible:—

(*a*) The interval between the '20th Mīna' date (1060 A. D.) and the '8th Mīna' date (A. D. 1105) may have been 45 years; and if the first date was the 14th regnal year of one reign, the second may have been the 43rd regnal year of a later reign;

(*b*) the interval between the two may have been 56 years (A. D. 1060=14th regnal year of one reign; and A. D. 1116=43rd regnal year of a later reign);

(*c*) the '8th Mīna' date (A.D. 1021 or A.D. 1116) may have been the 43rd year of an earlier reign which came to an end not less than 15 years later (because we have a date in the 58th year) and then another reign commenced, of which the 14th may have been the '20th Mīna' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155). On this supposition the first reign may have gone on till the 68th year (A.D. 1046 or A.D. 1141).

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I next proceed to reconcile as far as possible the remaining dates (not completely verifiable) given by you, supposing they all belong to the reign to which the '8th Mīna' date (43rd regnal year) belongs. And here I must remark that the 43rd regnal year has to be regarded as the 41st for the purpose of two other dates (the 13th and the 31st regnal year) whereas for the purpose of one other date, the 38th regnal year the same regnal year should be treated as the 43rd.

On the whole the reconciliation is not at all satisfactory and I hope you will be able to discover one or two more weekday dates which may clear up the mystery of the regnal years."

[Table.

## Reconciliation Table.

*The other dates (not completely verifiable) as given by Mr. Gopinatha Rao were :—*

| Reg. Year. | Solar month. | Jupiter's Rāśi. | Equivalent in the Christian era. | The first regnal year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6+7 ... | Tula month ... | J. Rishabha ... | May be with reference to A.D. 1021, 1 Mar. Wed. as a fixed point for 41st regnal year. | 1st regnal year 980 A.D., Oct. 10. |
| 2+[2]9 ... | Makara month ... | J. Kumbha ... | A.D. 992—Oct. when Jupiter's mean longitude was 44°55'. | 982, Jan. 7. |
| 2+29 ... | Vrischika 20 ... | J. Dhanus ... | A.D. 1002, Jan. J.'s long. 325° Reg. year 2+[1] 9=21. | 981, Nov. 14. |
| 2+[2]1 ... | Vrischika 8 ... | J. Makara ... | A.D. 1011. Nov. 14 R. Year 2+29=31 J.'s long 264°04'=Dhanus J. | A.D. 980, Nov. 2. |
| 2+36 ... | Vrishabha month ending (கழிவு)... | J. Vrishabha ... | A.D. 1012, Nov. 2, Reg. year 2+[3]1=33. J.'s long 293°39'=J. Makara. | 981, May 22. |
| | | | A.D. 1016, May 22. Reg. year 36, not 38 J.'s long 41°24=J. Rishabha. | 980, Oct. or 981 Oct. |
| 2+4[—] ... | Jupiter in Mīna... | | May be A.D. 1026 Oct. J's long 355° 46th or 47th Reg. year. | |
| 58th Reg. year... | Jupiter in Simha... | | May be A.D. 1031 July J.'s long 142° 51st or 52 Reg. year=J. Simha. | |

If, as is probable, the 13th regnal year and the 31st regnal year (Vrischika 20) leave no room for doubt then the other regnal years must be disposed off conjecturally as indicated above.

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## No. 8.—AN INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN SAṄGRĀMADHĪRA.

Three inscriptions published by Drs. Kielhorn and Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica* have brought out much valuable information regarding the king Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva. Of the two inscriptions published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV, one is found in the Aruḷālapperumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram and the other in the temple of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam ; that published by Dr. Hultzsch is engraved on the central shrine of Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi. From these three documents we learn that Ravivarman bore the title Mahārāja and the *biruda* Saṅgrāmadhīra. He was the son of the king Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa and belonged to the Yādava family and was consequently of the lunar race. The name of the mother of Ravivarman was Umādēvī ; he was born in the Śaka year 1188 = A.D. 1266-67. "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pāṇḍya princess and when 33 years of age (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1299-1300) took possession of Kēraḷa (which he ruled as he did his town of Kōḷamba). He defeated a certain Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas subjects to the Kēraḷas, and, at the age of 46 (*i.e.*, about 1312-13) was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī. He then apparently waged war against Vīra Pāṇḍya, defeated him and drove him into the Koṅkaṇa and from there into the forests, and conquered the northern country. It was in the fourth year of his reign (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1315-16) that he was at Kāñchi.

"The verses which contain this information are followed by a long string of *birudas* of Ravivarman, three of which describe him as 'the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba,' 'the Kūpaka universal monarch,' and 'the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country.'" He was a devout worshipper of the feet of Padmanābha (of Trivandram), was very munificient like Karṇa, upholder of religion, master of the sixty-four *kalās* (arts) and the Bhōja of the south."

In his Śrīraṅgam inscription, which is identical with the Aruḷālapperumāḷ inscription, Kulaśēkhara calls Raṅga, the god of Śrīraṅgam, also his tutelary deity.

In the same fourth year (*i.e.*, Saturday, the 29th December A. D. 1313) he was also at Tiruvadi and repaired and bathed the central shrine of the famous Śiva temple at that place.

Since the publication of these inscriptions, more sources of information regarding this king have been discovered ; these are purely literary compositions which were brought to light by the labours of Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śāstri, Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Travancore. One of them, a drama named the *Pradyumnābhyudayam* is a composition of Ravivarman *alias* Saṅgrāmadhīra. In the prelude to this work, the *sūtradhāra* speaks of the author as follows :—

आर्य ! समादिष्टोऽस्मि सकलकलाकुशलस्य चन्द्रकुलमङ्गलप्रदीपस्य समस्तसामन्तशेखरीक्रियमाणशासनस्य विविधशाखावलम्बनधर्मतरुमूलकन्दस्य प्रणयिजनचिन्तामणेः कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः..... केरळदेशकृतपरिणतेः यादवनृपकुलदैवस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे किमपि रूपकमभिनयता वयं (राजपरिषदा) विनोदनीयाः.

Further on he says of the author king :—

अस्ति किल सङ्गीतशास्त्रपारदृश्वना निखिलगुणरत्नरोहणगिरिणा कविजनमयूरकालमेघेन साहित्यविद्याविचक्षणेन दक्षिणभोजराजेन महाराजपरमेश्वरेण संग्रामधीरापरनामधेयेन श्रीरविवर्मदेवेन विरचितं प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।.

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From the above passage it will be clear that Saṅgrāmadhīra was another name of Ravivarman, a fact which enables us to identify this particular Ravivarman, from among a lot of others who bore the same name which is common to the princes of the Malaināḍu. The name Saṅgrāmadhīra associated with Ravivarman occurs in another work, a commentary by Samudrabandha on the *Alaṅkārasūtras* and the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*. Samudrabandha in stating that he was one of the Paṇḍits of the Court of Ravivarman refers to him thus :—

केरळेष्वस्ति नगरी कोलम्ब इति विश्रुता ।
विभूषयन् पुरीमेनां यदुवंशविभूषिणम् ।
रविवर्मेति विख्यातो राजा शास्ति वसुन्धराम् ॥

यद्याकाङ्क्षसि वीक्षितुं गुणरुचे ! चेतः समस्तान् गुणान्
कोलम्बाख्यमुपेहि दक्षिणदिशां सीमन्तरत्नं पुरम् ।

Elsewhere in his work he alludes to his patron as Yadunandana, Yadubhūpati, Kūpaka-bhūpati.

आस्ते यत्र भुजेन कीर्त्तिशशिनः पूर्वाचलेनोद्वह-
न्नुर्वीमर्णवमेखलां यदुपतिः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः ॥

सङ्ग्रामधीरनृपतिर्भीरुरधर्मादभीरुराहवतः ।
शुश्रूषुर्निगमविदस्तद्वह्यविदो भवत्यशुश्रूषुः ॥

The name Saṅgrāmadhīra occurs in several places in this commentary, which makes it certain that it was written in the court of Ravivarman—Saṅgrāmadhīra of our inscription.

The title Dakshiṇa-Bhōja is not a vain boast; he is the author, as far as we know at present, of at least one good drama, the *Pradyamnābhyudaya*, and his learning in Saṅskṛit is spoken of very highly by the Paṇḍits of his court and elsewhere, for instance, by Kavibhūshaṇa, the author of the verses comprising the inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvadi and Conjeevaram. So much about the king Ravivarman as gathered from the inscriptions and literature. The historical events mentioned therein are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The country round Kollam (*vulgo*. Quilon) is called the Jayaśiṅganāḍu and one of the families of the kings of the west coast was known in later times as of the Jayāśiṅga-nāṭṭu mūtta tiruvaḍis; Āttiṅgal was perhaps the chief place of these later princes. In one of the inscriptions found in Āttiṅgal a lady who calls herself a Kūpaka princess is said to have built a temple for Śiva. This fact also enables us to identify the Āttiṅgal family with the Jayaśiṅganāṭṭu-tiruvaḍis, or the Kūpakas. There is an inscription at Quilon belonging to the reign of another Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa, dated in Ko. 671=A.D. 1496, that is, 180 years after Ravivarman (See *Travancore Archæological Series*, Volume II, pp. 26—27, for this inscription). This prince must evidently be a successor in the line of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. Finally, by adoption and other relationships and by conquest, the Jayaśiṅganāḍu family merged in course of time but very recently, in the present line of the Travancore Mahārājas.

The Malaināḍu was perhaps under one or two sovereign powers in the earlier period of its history, of which nothing is known at present beyond the mere mention of the name of the Chēras. In the medieval and the later periods the country was split up into a large number of principalities; the chief ones among them seem to have been the Mūshaka country belonging to the Kōlattiri, the Kūpakas of Kollam and the Vēṇāḍu kings of South Travancore. That part of the Malaināḍu north

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of Kollam and adjoining the Coimbatore and the Nilgiri Districts and the Mysore Province appears to have been known as the Kēraḷa. Therefore, it is very likely that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra subjugated this country and extended his dominions. One of the adversaries mentioned in his inscription as conquered by him should be his neighbour, the Pāṇḍya. The conquest over the Pāṇḍya and the marriage of Ravivarman with the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king took place before the 33rd year of his age, that is, before A.D. 1299-1300. The Pāṇḍya kings who reigned for ten years before A.D. 1300 are Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva (II) whose latest known inscription is dated the 15th year of his reign, which corresponds to A. D. 1290, and Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva (I) whose 40th year corresponds to A. D. 1308. Either of these kings should have suffered defeat at the hands of Ravivarman and given his daughter in marriage to him (1). Sometime before the beginning of the military achievement of Ravivarman in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the power of the Pāṇḍyas had so far grown that one of them, Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, invaded the Chōḷa country, drove away Rājarāja III and got the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed in the Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷapuram ; sometime after, feeling pity for the Chōḷa king, he summoned him from his place of hiding and after making him beg for his kingdom conferred it upon him. These events occurred before A.D. 1223, soon after, that is, a few months before A. D. 1231, another misfortune occurred to Rājarāja III ; one of his vassals, Kōpperuñjiṅga deposed and imprisoned him in the fort at Śēndamaṅgalam (in South Arcot) and began to rule the Chōḷa country ; but Kōpperuñjiṅga was summarily driven out by the generals of the Hoysaḷa Vīra Nārasiṁhadēva (II), the father-in-law of Rājarāja III, who reinstated the latter on his throne. But the last vestiges of the regular line of the Chōḷas were swept out by the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. He defeated Rājēndrachōḷa III, son of Rājarāja III, drove out the Hoysaḷa Vīra Sōmanātha (Sōmēśvara) from Kaṇṇaṇūr (Samayavaram), expelled Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva from Kāñchi, defeated the Kākatiya Gaṇapati and extended his conquests as far north as Cuttack and had the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed at Nellūr (Nellore). In one of the inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya it is distinctly stated that he killed Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva and at the entreaty of his younger brothers, he conferred the kingdom conquered from him on one of them. (See also *Śendamīḻ*, Vol. IV, p. 493). These events should have taken place before A.D. 1259. Then again, Vikrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Bhuvanēkavīra states, in his inscriptions, that he took Kāñchi but did not proceed further north, because, it is stated in the inscription, that his anger was appeased at the sight of the two eyes on the face of Pratāparudra which resembled the two carp fishes, which are the emblems of the Pāṇḍya kings ; and that he returned from his northern campaigns, because he did not consider it gallant to attack a princess, that is, the Kākatiya Rudrāmbā (Pratāparudra). Thus the regular line of Chōḷas of the Tamiḻ country had vanished from the political horizon ; the Telugu Chōḍas who, assisted by the Kākatiya kings had become masters of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, were suffering from internal dissensions. In the year A. D. 1316, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagara (Orangal) entered Kāñchi and installed there a certain Mānavīra, who is identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the Telugu Chōḍa, Manma-Gaṇḍagōpāladēva whose latest known date (2) is, according to Dr. Hultzsch, Ś. 1221 (A. D. 1299) that is, 17 years before the installation of Mānavīra at Kāñchi. Before the coronation of Mānavīra and the latest known date of Manma-Gaṇḍagōpāladēva, Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra invaded and occupied Kāñchi and was actually crowned in this city in A. D. 1312-13. Dr. Hultzsch concludes from the statement that Muppiḍi ' put to flight the princess of the south ' which occurs in verse 3 of the

(1) Or it might be some earlier king like Vikrama Pāṇḍya the opponent of Vīra Pāṇḍya in the wars of succession to the Pāṇḍya throne.

(2) The latest one before his dethronement by his own collaterals Akkana and Bayyana. Perhaps afterwards he was restored to the throne by Muppiḍi and reigned for some time.

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inscription (of Mupppiḍi) that Saṅgrāmadhīra must have been driven out by the Kâkatiya general. Turning to the conquests of Ravivarman, we see that he defeated his neighbour in the east, the Pāṇḍya, and overran the Chōḷamaṇḍalam and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, which were practically in a state of anarchy or had no fixed or permanent kings, and occupied Kāñchi where he got his coronation celebrated; since he overran the countries of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas he states that he brought these kings under his subjection.

Some light is thrown on this obscure period of the history of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Telugu literature also.

Tammusiddhi, Manmasiddhi and other Telugu Chōḍas who were the vassals of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III were ruling the country comprising the Nellore, Guntur and other Districts with the town of Nellore as the principal seat of their government. When Manmasiddhi was ruling in Nellore, he was deposed by two brothers, the cousins (*dāyādis*) of Manmasiddhi. His illustrious protege, Tikkana Sōmayāji, the great Telugu poet interceded on his patron's behalf, induced the Kākatiya Pratāparudra Gaṇapati to interest himself in reinstating Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore. Pratāparudra Gaṇapati was pleased with Tikkana's pleading and actually replaced Manma on his throne, but placed under his charge a small tract of the country consisting of only 200 villages. The following verses containing the information given above are found in the *Siddhēśvara Charitam* :—

तगुमाट विनु मोक्षधर्मकार्यंबु
सूर्यवंशंबुन साबगोंदुनट्टि-
यार्यपूजितवर्युडामन्मसिद्धि-
राजुदानेल्लूरु रमणतो नेल
.....
अक्कनबय्यन लधिकबलिष्ठु-
लक्कट सिद्धिरायनि बारद्रोलि
दक्किनराज्यंबु तामे येलुचुनु-
नोक्ककासैन जक्कग नीरु
वारल दंडिंचि वारि नेल्लूरु
वारिकिप्पुंपु मवारणंब्रीति-
ननिन गणपतिराजट्लका कनुचु
.....
वेडलि गणपतियु विजयंबुनकुनु
गुडियाडमल सेन कोलिचि येतेर
वेलनाडु चेरियु वीडेल्लुगाल्चि
वेलनाटिराजुनु वेसगेल्चि वानि-
यप्पनंबुल्लुगोनि यटचनि राजु
गुप्पुन नेल्लूरु कूडनेतेंचि-
यक्कनबय्यन नचट साधिंचि
.....

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నెల్లూరప్రజలకునెర్పువాటిల్ల-
జెల్లించే మన్మనసిద్ధిరాజునకు
నెల్లూరిపట్టంబు నెర్పుతోగట్టి
సల్లలితాదతి సమదుర్గములను-
నరువదేనిమిదియు నగుపట్టణముల-
నరుదోన్దసార్ధించి యామన్మసిద్ధి-
రాజుకిచ్చియు దనతేజంబు దిశల-
బూజకెక్కగ ఘనరాజితయశుడు
ఘనతటాకంబుదాకట్టించే నచట-
గోనకోని నెల్లూరగోన్నెలలుండి
మనుమసిద్ధికి రాజ్యమహిమల్దేల్పే

The passage quoted above in which Tikkana is supposed to be addressing Gaṇapati is to this effect:—' Please listen to me and do one good act and that is to make the Sūryavaṁśa once again bright by placing the good Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore.... The very powerful Akkana and Bayyana having deposed (Manma) Siddhirāja are themselves ruling the kingdom. May you be pleased to punish them and restore Manma to his kingdom of Nellore.....Gaṇapati started out with a large army, reached Velanāḍu, defeated its king and took possession of the country, fell suddenly upon Nellore and took it from Akkana and Bayyana. To the joy of the people of Nellore, Manmasiddhi was anointed on his throne at Nellore.....'. This event is believed to have taken place somewhere in the reign of the last of the Chōḷa kings, Rājēndrachōḷa III: one of Manmasiddhi's inscriptions found at Nandalūr is dated S'.1179, corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅgala and the 13th year of the reign of Vīra Rājēndrachōḷa (III), whose accession, according to Dr. Kielhorn took place in A.D. 1245-46. The Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya conquered the Chōḷa kingdom, overthrew the Hoysaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara and overran the country as far as Cuttack, defeating and driving away Manmasiddhi and the Kākatiya Gaṇapati. This common catastrophe cemented the friendship between the two kings Manma and Kākatiya Gaṇapati. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya chose Nellore for commemorating his victory by undergoing the ceremony of the anointment of heroes and victors, because it was the capital of Manmasiddha who suffered defeat under him (about A.D.1259). After the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Kākatiya king and his ally seem to have regained their territories: Vikrama Pāṇḍya tried to get back the possession of the lost territories and does not seem to have succeeded in his attempt; even the failure is made good for panegyric by the poet who says his (Vikrama's) anger was quenched, because he saw in the two eyes of Rudrāmbā (queen of Gaṇapati who had then evidently taken up the regency after her husband's death), the two carp fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas; besides he did not want to fight with a lady.

It was in this confused state of affairs which continued apparently up to A.D. 1300 and odd, that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra found an opportunity for his aggrandisement in A.D. 1313. Though he was able to overpower the Chōḍa and the Kākatiya queen temporarily, he appears to have been eventually driven out of Kāñchipura and its surrounding region in A.D. 1316, when Mānavīra was reinstated in his territory by the Kākatiya sovereign through her general Muppiḍi Nāyaka. The conquest and occupation of Kāñchipura by Ravivarman was a mere raid upon the country and nothing more.

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The inscription edited below is engraved upon the two faces of a stone lying in the yard of the Śiva temple at Chālaigrāmam, one of the brāhmaṇa quarters of Trivandram and is in an excellent state of preservation. It stops with the enumeration of the *birudas* of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. It is written in the Grantha characters; all the *birudas* are in the Sanskrit language, while the last six lines are Tamil. Saṅgrāmadhīra bears in this inscription the characteristic Pāṇḍya surname Māṟavarman; how he was entitled to it, it is not known. The inscription stops abruptly with the word *yaṇḍu* and the regnal year is not given.

## Text.[1]

*First face.*

1. स्वस्ति श्री [:।।*] चन्त्रकुलमं-[2]
2. गलप्रदीप [।*] यादवना-
3. रायण [।*] केरळदे[श]-
4. पुण्यपरिणाम [।*] ना-
5. मान्तरकर्ण्ण [।*] कूपकसा-
6. र्वभौम [।*] कुलशिखरि
7. प्रतिष्ठापितगरुडद्ध्व-[3]
8. ज [।*] कोळम्बपुरवरा-
9. धीश्वर [।*] श्रीपत्म(म)ना-[4]
10. भपदकमलपरम[ा]
11. राधख[5] [।*] प्रणतरा-
12. जप्रतिष्ठाचार्य्य [।*][6]
13. विमतराजबन्धीका-
14. र[।*] धर्म्मतरुम्ल[क]-
15. न्द [।*] स[द्]गुणालं-
16. कार [।*] चतु[ष्ष]ष्ठिकला-

*Second face.*

17. वल्लभ [।*] दाक्षिणभो-
18. जराज [।*] संग्रा-
19. मधीर [।*] महारा-

(1) From the paper impressions prepared under my supervision.
(2) Read चन्द्रकुल.
(3) Read ध्वज.
(4) Read पद्मनाभ.
(5) Read ०राधक.
(6) Read प्रतिष्ठाचार्य

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20. जाधिराजपरमे-
21. श्वरजयसिं[ह]-
22. देवनन्दनश्री[मद्ध]-
23. र्म्ममहार[ाज र्]
24. கோமா[ற]பன்மர-
25. ான त्रिभुवनचक्र-
26. वर्त्तिகள் ஸ்ரீகுல-
27. சேகர தே வர்க்-
28. கு யாண்டு

## Translation.

Hail! Fortune! The auspicious light of the Moon's race, the Nārāyaṇa among the Yādavas, the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country the Karṇa under another name, the Kūpaka universal monarch, the establisher of his Garuḍa-banner on the (seven) principal mountains, the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba, the devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the holy Padmanābha, the establisher (in their kingdom) of the kings who bow down before him, the imprisoner of kings adverse to him, the root of the tree of religion, the ornament of the virtuous, the master of the sixty-four arts, the king Bhōja of the south, Saṅgrāmadhīra (the firm one in battles), the son of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Jayasiṁhadēva, the prosperous and munificent Mahārāja, the king Māṟavarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva—his (regnal) year.....

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## No.—9. THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF STHĀṆU RAVI.

Below are edited three copper-plate records written in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters. Of these two documents belong to the Syrian Christians at Kōṭṭayam and are well-known to the scholars through their editions by Drs. Gundert and Burnell and their reproduction by Mr. Logan in the 2nd Part of his *Malabar District Manual;* one of these is dated in the reign of the king **Sthāṇu Ravi**; the other contains matter which is more or less a continuation of the first, but is fragmentary and wanting in the first part. The alphabet and contents of these two will be discussed in their proper places. The third belongs to the Mūviḍattumēṛchēri Illam at Tiruvallā and is also of the reign of **Sthāṇu Ravi**. The rapid progress epigraphy has made in the last decade has brought to light several inaccuracies in the edition of Dr. Gundert and others and necessitates the re-editing of the Syrian Christian documents; consequently an attempt is now made to present a fresh edition of these well-known records.

Before proceeding with the regular treatment of the record itself, it will be found interesting to know the strange vicissitudes which these copper-plates have gone through in the past. Captain Charles Swanston has recorded the following about these copper-plates in Vol. 1 (Old Series) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in January 1833: "About three hundred years ago, the tablets on which are engraved the rights of nobility, and other privileges, granted by the princes of a former age to the Syrian Christians, were deposited by the Bishop of Angamale in the hands of the Portuguese at Cochin, and were lost, to the extreme regret of the whole nation. After the loss of these tablets, the Christians could produce nothing in support of their claims to nobility, except what was handed down by tradition; and it was even doubted whether such grants had ever existed, till the arrival of Colonel Macaulay (now Lieutenant-General Colonel Macaulay) as British Resident in Travancore, who directed an immediate search to be made for the lost tablets, and was fortunate enough to discover them, in the year 1806, to the great joy of the Syrian Church ..... These plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." Captain Swanston does not, however, inform us how and wherefrom the copper-plates were recovered. We know that the Portuguese on their surrender of the fort of Cochin after a valiant defence, were permitted by their besiegers, the Dutch, to quit the fort honourably with their guns and what valuables they chose to carry with them, except those belonging to the church. So, then, they must have left behind the copper-plates entrusted to their care by the Syrian Christians. Similarly, when the Dutch were compelled by the British to enter into terms of capitulation of the fort of Cochin the following was made one of the conditions:—

PROPOSITION OF THE DUTCH IN THE DUTCH LANGUAGE.

"All documents, charters, Resolutions, and other papers, belonging to this Government, will without any search being made of them be delivered over to the Governor, Mr. Van Spall, in order to be carried with him, wherever he may be removed to."

ANSWER OF THE ENGLISH IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

"All Public documents and papers, must be delivered over to persons, appointed to receive them, but Mr. Van Spall will have authenticated vouchers, of those which may in any way concern himself, during his management of Cochin."

Thus also all the records preserved in the fort of Cochin must certainly have come intact into the hands of the English; therefore, was it possible for Lieutenant-General Macaulay to institute search for the copper-plates said to have been lost and to recover them.

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It is stated by Captain Swanston that "these plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." By the College here is meant the Syrian Seminary maintained by the Bishop of the Jacobite Syrians. Once obtained possession of by the Syrians after a lapse of three centuries, the ill-fated set of copper-plates got again split up and a portion of it was lost sight of. Concerning this second loss let me quote from the *Church History of Travancore* of Mr. C. M. Agur, B.A. :—

"These copper-plate grants consisting of six plates fell into the hands of the Portuguese in the 17th century (*sic.*) and were considered lost. But through the endeavours of the British Resident Colonel Macaulay they were recovered in the beginning of this century. After allowing Dr. Buchanan to take facsimiles, Colonel Macaulay handed them over to the Syrian Metropolitan and they remained in his possession till the time of Mar Matthew Athanasius. But during the disputes and civil suits between Mar Thomas Athanasius and Dionysius, the former produced in the Court only 4 of the plates and said that they were all that he had with him. It may be that the other two plates were lost beyond recovery or that they are withheld by interested parties. Unfortunately the missing plates are the first and last plates of the second grant. They are very important because the first plate contains the name of the Sovereign who granted it and the time of granting, and the last plate bears the signatures of witnesses in Pahlavi, Kuffic and Hebrew characters which taxed the energies of great scholars like Burnell, Haug, West and Gundert to decipher.

"The Government Epigraphist of Madras, Dr. Hultzsch, now endeavours to recover the missing plates for being photographed for his *Epigraphica Indica*, and we hope his exertions will be crowned with success."

The set of plates remained split up, as it still is, from the middle of the 19th century till before three months and the first and last plates were missing. The remaining six plates are as usual preserved in the old Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and their existence was known to all. But without the first plate which contained the name of the king, his time and other matters, the remaining plates belonging to the Seminary were useless. By diligent search the first and the last plates were traced out by me in the Palace of His Grace the Most Reverend Mar Titus. II, Mar Thoma, the Bishop of the Reformed or St. Thoma Syrians of Malabar, Tiruvallā, and by the kind courtesy of His Grace, impressions of these were taken. Then His Grace the most Reverend Mar Dionisius was approached for the other plates and His Grace was courteous enough to allow me to take their impressions in his own Press and it is with the impressions thus obtained I give below a fresh edition of the document. I feel bound here to offer my sincere thanks to the two good Bishops for the readiness with which they helped me with the temporary loan of the copper-plates in their respective possessions for the purpose of taking mechanical copies from them.

The document, or more correctly the two documents, under discussion are very remarkable, firstly, because of the history of their wanderings during the past four centuries; secondly, because they are genuine Christian documents of the pre-Portuguese period, of which not a single one has hitherto been available to me either on copper or on stone, in spite of my perseverance in search of them, thirdly, for the historical facts contained in them and fourthly and lastly for the very different and curious interpretations given to several passages by the various editors in the past.

The Kōṭṭayam Syrian Christian plates were first edited by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, part I., pp. 115-142, under the title "Translation and analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in the possession of the Syrians and the Jews of Malabar." In the same journal appeared also the contribution of Mr. Kukkil Kelu Nayar on the same copper-plate grants. The contributions of Dr. Gundert on these plates were collected by Mr. Logan in his *Malabar Manual*.

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In dealing with the smaller five plates of Kōṭṭayam, Dr. Gundert has supposed them to belong to one and the same set; in doing so, he has overlooked certain glaring evidences which go to show clearly that they constitute really two and not one set, both of which are fragmentary. The first is less fragmentary, however, than the second; the former is wanting in only one half of the signature of the *kōyil-adhikāri*, whereas the latter is wanting by one or two plates at the beginning. I am inclined to believe for the reasons given below that the five plates belong to two sets; the second side of the first plate begins the record in the usual manner with the words *svasti śrī* and ends in the word *vaṇṇāru*; another plate, bearing writing engraved by the same hand as in the first plate, begins with a *m* which is required to complete the incomplete word *vaṇṇāru* at the end of the first plate. The matter on the first plate also fits in with that of the second plate. The second plate, that is, the one which begins with a *m*, ends with the signatures of Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi, Vēḷkula Sundaraṉ and finally with the first half of the nameViśaiya, perhaps of the *kōyil-adhikāri* Viyarāgattēvar who is often mentioned in No. II of this paper. No. II begins abruptly with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi* at the beginning of the first side of its (now existing) first plate and runs continuously through the other plates till we reach the end, where we meet with writing in Hebrew and Syriac alphabets. Though Nos. I and II are engraved on different sets of copper-plates they deal with the same subject-matter, that is, the grant of artisans and others to Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, as also lands, taxes and privileges.

Dr. Gundert has, on the other hand, taken the first plate of No. I as the first plate, the one beginning with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi*, that is, plate i of No. II as plate ii, plate ii of No. II as plate iii and plate ii of No. I as plate iv and the plate bearing writing in the Hebrew and Syriac as the last plate. The differences in the writing employed in the two sets must have easily suggested the correct way of grouping the plates into two sets. Anyhow the mistake that has thus been committed does not affect the interpretation in any manner.

The name of the king has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikkuttaṉ* which he has taken as the *tadbhava* form of Sthāṇu Ravigupta. That this reading is incorrect has already been pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in his paper on the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti. The correct form of reading this name is, as pointed by him, *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikku taṉ*...there are also a number of other mislections which will be pointed out in their proper places.

## No. I.

Inscription No. I, which is older than No. II, is written in fine **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters of about the latter half of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The language of the record is **Tamil**. One peculiarity noticeable in this inscription is the uniform manner in which the final *m* is re-duplicated quite unnecessarily; e.g., °*diruvaḍiyumm-adigārarum*, in *ll.* 3 and 4: °*padiyumm-ulvaittu* in *l.* 5; *Īḻavarum-Īḻakkaiyarum* and °*marumm-ivagaḷ* in *l.* 7; *kuḍiyumm-ivaṉaivar* and *kāṇamumm-ēṇikkāṇamum* in *l.* 8, *ponnumm-iravu* and *nāḻiyummivanaittum* in *ll.* 9 and 10; *Īḻavarumm-orukuḍi* in *l.* 12; *vaṇṇārumm-evvagai* in *ll.* 12 and 13; *maṟṟumm-evvagaip-paṭṭārumm-eppiḻai śolliyumm-ivagaḻai* in *ll.* 17 and 18; and *ilakkikkunmavarkku* in *ll.* 25 and 26. Then again the rules of Tamil grammar regarding *sandhi* are observed in this document in a large majority of instances; prominent among them is *Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ*+*Tiruvaḍi*=*Ayyaṉaḍigaḍiruvaḍi* occurring in *ll.* 3 and 6 and *madil*+*nāyaṉ*=*madiṇāyaṉ*, occurring in *l.* 17.

The inscription is dated the fifth year of the reign of the king Sthāṇu Ravi. No more than the bare regnal year is given in the document, which is, as every one knows, utterly insufficient for the calculation of the date of the king's reign; so, the only source for determining the age of the document is its palæography. From the formation of the characters employed herein we may fix the age of the document as the ninth or the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.

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The inscription discloses the following interesting facts: namely, that one Īśō Tapīr erected a church named the Tarisāppaḷḷi at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam; the governor of Vēṇāḍu by name Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi made a gift of a number of families consisting of Īḻavars, Īḻakkaiyars and Vaṇṇāṉs, to the Church of Tarisā, remitting all taxes due from them. The taxes from which the families made over to the church were exempted are the *taḷaikkāṇam*, *ēṇikkāṇam*, tax payable for renewing the thatchings of the houses, the *mēnippon* from the *Śāṉṟans*, the *polippon*, the *iravuchchōṟu* and the *kuḍa-nāḻi*. The Īḻavars of the families made over to the church were permitted to take their carts to the markets and within the precincts of the fort (*lit.* fort-walls) and ply their trade; a similar permission was also granted to the Vaṇṇārs to go about their business in the market and in the fort: neither the *Tīyamāḷvān* nor the *Madil-nāyan* nor any others were to find any fault with these people; and all complaints against them should be tried solely by the Church people. Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ made over these *viḍupēṟus* to the Tarisāppaḷḷi as an *aṭṭippēṟu* to last as long as the earth, the sun and the moon last.

In the above abstract of the contents of the document I have used a number of words in their original untranslated forms. They are purposely left untranslated, because they cannot be easily rendered in terse, literal and appropriate manner, but their meaning could be brought out in the form of explanatory notes on each of them: these notes are given below.

The word *Īḻavar* consists of *Īḻam*+*ar*—the people of Īḻam; and Īḻam is the old Tamiḻ name of Simhaḷa or Ceylon. At the present day this class of people are known either as Īḻavar or Tīyar; and the latter name is a compound of *Tīyam*+*ar* or *timai*+*ar*. In the former way of breaking up the compound it means the people of Tīyam, a *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit *Dvīpam*, an island, hence Islanders; in the latter case, the compound means bad or inauspicious people. The second mode of viewing the compound is not consistent with the synonym Īḻavar (= Ceylonese); therefore it might be rejected as untenable; the first meaning fits in with the compound Tīyam-āḻvāṉ (about which see below). The Īḻavar were one of the early settlers in India, as the name indicates, from Īḻam and from the earliest known times have been employed as toddy-drawers. As a toddy drawing caste they are referred to in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja I: the portion of the record mentioning the Īḻavar reads thus: *ivv-ūr iṭṭa teṅgum paṇaiyum Īḻavar ēṟa perādāgavum*, meaning, the cocoanut and palmyra trees planted in this village should not be climbed by the Īḻavar.

*Īḻakkaiyar*: This word is really unintelligible; it has been taken by Dr. Gundert to refer to "a low caste men or slaves of Sīmhaḷa" and as such, he states in his translation that eight families of this class of men were also given. But I am inclined to take the word as the feminine of Īḻavar; for, the inscription says that Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ granted "four families of Īḻavar and eight Īḻakkaiyar included in these families, thus making up a total of these twelve persons". If Īḻakkaiyars were but the members belonging to the four families of Īḻavars it is more probable that Īḻakkaiyar refers to their women.

*Vaṇṇān* comes from the root *Vaṇṇam*, a *prākṛit* form *varṇa*, colour and means a washerman. In Malayāḷam they use *maṇṇāṉ* instead, which is etymologically a more correct form: *maṇṇudal* means washing dirt and *maṇṇāṉ*, (=*maṇṇuvāṉ*) therefore, means one who washes soiled clothes.

*Taḷaikkāṇam* is a compound of *taḷai*+*kāṇam* of which *taḷai* in Tamiḻ means fetters as Dr. Gundert has taken; it also denotes the ring made of palmyra fibres which is applied by the Īḻavar or tree-climbers round the two ankles and with whose grip they are able to climb the trees. *Kāṇam* is a grain of gram and was used as a measure of weight, as in *aṅju-kāṇam pon daṇḍappaḍuvadu*, should be subjected to a fine of five *kāṇams*. The word *kāṇam* went on expanding

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in connotation from a grain of horse-gram, to a measure equal to its weight, then to a weight of gold equal to its weight and ultimately to payment either as tenant's rent, taxes due from subjects and so on. At present *kāṇam* in Malabar is used to refer to a kind of land tenure. In the compound *taḷaikkāṇam* it implies the tax levied on *taḷai*, in other words, on the Īḻavars who used them in their vocation. It was a kind of professional tax on those engaged in the toddy trade.

*Ēṇikkāṇam* is also another tax imposed evidently on the Īḻavars, on the ladders used by them in climbing trees. Dr. Gundert says that the ladders are used for reaping pepper.

*Manai-mēyppāṉ koḻḻum-iṟai*: the first part of the phrase has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Yāṇai-mēyppāṉ* and therefore translated as "the tax for the elephant feeder." The plate has distinctly *maṇai* and not *yāṇai*; and therefore, the phrase means, the tax payable at the time of renewing the thatch of the house.

*Mēṇippoṉ* is made up of *mēni*+*poṉ* and means literally gold for the body. This *mēṇippoṉ* is said to be received from the Śāṉṟāṉ or Shanar caste, which is, the same as the Īḻavar or Tīyar. The Tamiḻ word literally means *the great one* and was perhaps a title assumed by the Īḻavars much in the same way as *māppiḻḻai*, *Nāyar* and *Mēnōn*. Even at the present day it is used as a distinct title by the Īḻavar as for example, Gōvinda Chānnār of Ālamōḍu. The *mēṇippoṉ* to be collected from Śāṉṟāṟ seems to refer to some tax per *mēni*, or, in modern language, per head. This word has been misread by Dr. Gundert as *ērippoṉ*, which he finds necessary to correct into *ari-ppoṉ* and he then translates it as the 'washgold' and the whole passage *śāṉṟāṉ-māṭṭu mēṇippoṉ* is rendered by him thus: "to the wash gold which the Chāndān (great person, sun) is wont to get (*māṭṭu*, book in Tamiḻ, get by ruse in Malayāḷam). *Śāṉṟāṉ-māṭṭu* in Tamil means simply, from the *Śāṉṟāṉ* and no more: the interpretation of Dr. Gundert is clearly wrong. I have taken *koḻḻum* as understood after *māṭṭu* and every student of Tamil would agree with me in the necessity and propriety of supplying this word.

*Polippoṉ*, I am unable to understand the exact meaning of this term. *Poli* in the language of inscriptions is the same as *paliśai*, interest. Upon what this interest-gold was levied, it is not clear. *Poli* also means a heap and the tax may be upon heaps of paddy, pepper, etc.

The literal meaning of the phrase *iravuchchōṟu* is night-meal. Certain classes of servants were fed at nights and this right of being fed seems to be referred to here by the word *iravuchchōṟu*. This custom still exists in some parts of the Tinnevelly District.

*Kuḍa-nāḻi* literally means a pot and a *nāḻi* measure; the dative case ending is understood after *kuḍam*; the correct interpretation will be a *nāḻi* per *kuḍam* and would evidently refer to the custom of a *nāḻi* of liquor being taken away by the authorities from each pot-ful of it. In this connection it will be interesting to compare a similar levy of a *uḻakku* salt on each *kalam* of it that came into or went out of the stores, recorded in an inscription found in Kanyā-kumāri temple (Vide *Trav. Arch. Series, Vol.* I, p. 163.)

It is not certain if the word occurring at the end of line 10, is to be read as *vārakkōl* as Gundert has done, or as *vārkkōl*, *Pārakkōl* or *Pārkkōl*. If we agree with Gundert in taking the word as *vārakkōl* and give either of the probable meanings of the word *vāram*, namely *urimai* (=propriety) or *paṅgu*, the compound would mean, either the staff of honour or "the share-staff" according to Gundert. I would prefer the former meaning, for, the record enumerates the honours and privileges conferred on Sapīr Īśō and a staff of honour, as the silver-staff carried by heralds in Hindu royal courts, is certainly more appropriate to the position of the donee. If, however, we take the reading as *pārkkōl*, the staff (signifying the control) over the earth would be its meaning and is practically the same as the staff of honour or the royal sceptre.

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The words *kappān* and *pañcha* or *paiñcha-kkaṇḍi* are unknown to either literature or inscriptions. They are met with for the first time only in this record and are unintelligible. Dr. Gundert takes the last word to mean five *kaṇḍies* (pieces of ground or shares). It is more likely meant for a necklace with five strands.

*Viḍu-pēṟu* and *Aṭṭippēṟu :* the word *pēṟu*, in these compounds is the substantive form of the verb *peṟu*, to obtain; and therefore means 'what has been obtained or got possession of'. There are different means by which one may come in possession of a thing, as by free gift, by assignment, mortgage, sale or even by theft. The adjectives *aṭṭi*, *viḍu* etc., prefixed to *pēṟu* indicate the mode in which the object came to be in the possession of the owner. In the document under consideration, for example, a number of families of various castes were assigned and made over to the Christian settlers to render them service and help. The latter came to have among them or possess these families of men of various castes of Hindu population by assignment or more properly, by the grantor leaving his control over these families in favour of the grantees; the possession by the leaving of one in favour of another is called *viḍu-pēṟu*. *Aṭṭi* in *aṭṭippēṟu* is contracted form of *niraṭṭiēppēṟu ; nīraṭṭi* means literally having poured water; in absolute gifts the ceremony to be observed is to place in the hands of the donee a fee (*dakshiṇā*, preferably a gold piece) and pour water saying *sampradatte idam na mama na mama*, 'thus given, this is (hereafter) not mine, not mine'. The donee thenceforward is the absolute owner of the object given and he has rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc. The possession he begins to have over the object after the water-pouring ceremony is known as the *aṭṭippēṟu*. Hence, it has been defined by the later Malayāḷam jurists as the absolute conveyance. Compare *aṭṭi kkuḍuttēṉ* occurring in lines 12 and 14 above.

*Paḷḷi*, is the name applied in earlier times to the *avaidika* places of worship such as those of Buddhists and the Jainas and occurs extensively in the names of places such as Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi, Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, etc. By extension of its connotation it has come to apply to the later *avaidika* places of worship, namely, those of the Muhammadan and the Christians. In the Tamil countries the Muhammadan mosque is known as the *paḷḷivaśal* (the gate of the *paḷḷi* or mosque) and the Christian churches, the *Mādakōyil* (the Mother's temple). But in the conservative west coast the Muhammadan, the Jewish and the Christian places of worship are called uniformly *paḷḷis* as in olden times. The land grant made to a *paḷḷi* is called the *paḷḷichchandam* in all Bauddha and Jaina records of the Tamil country. The termination *paḷḷi* in the name of any place is a sure sign that it will not be profitless to look in it for places or objects of Jaina or Bauddha antiquity. In Trichinopoly (Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi) for instance, where there are apparently no traces of Jaina or Bauddha vestiges, I was able to find a pair of foot-prints with an inscription, on the top of the rock situated in the centre of the city, not far from the roof of the Mātṛibhūtēśvarasvāmi's temple.

*Tīyam-āḷvāṉ :* The exact meaning of this word is not clear; it is a compound of *tīyam* and *āḷvaṉ*. The word Tīyam-āḷvāṉ should therefore mean the ruler or headman of the Tīyars in the locality. It is similar to *Nāḍu-aḷvāṉ* the chief officer of a *nāḍu* or district. The headmen of each community are known on the east coast as the *nāṭṭār* or *mahā-nāṭṭār ;* the institution of the headmen of each community, recognised as the leaders of public opinion regarding social rights and duties, existed so late as the time of Ānandaraṅga Piḷḷai, the Dubāsh of Dupleix.

*Madiṇāyaṉ*. This word is a compound of *madil*+*nāyaṉ* in compounding the words, the final *l* of the first word and the initial *ṉ* of the second coalesce, in conformity of the rules of Tamil grammar, into *ṉ*. The latter word *nāyaṉ* is evidently the corruption of the Sanskrit word *nayaka*, the master. *Madiṇāyaṉ* therefore means the master of the fort (*lit.* the fort-walls) and corresponds exactly to the *killēdār* of the Muhammadan period. In this connection, it is interesting to note

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the origin of the class name *Nāyar* of the present day. It is derived by a class of scholars from *Nāgas*, from some fancied relationship between the *nāga* worship etc., common to Malabar. From the compound word noticed above it is evident that *nāyan* (of which Nāyar is an honorific plural form ; of, *Ayyaṉ, Ayyar ; Rāyaṉ, Rāyar ; Mārāṉ. Mārār ; Paṇikkaṉ, Paṇikkar*, &c.) is simply a corrupt form of *nāyakan ;* the word is cognate with *nāyani, nāyu* and *nāyuḍu* of Telugu and *Nāyak* of Mahrāṭṭi. It is a military distinction maintained even at the present time in the British Military organisation of Indian troops.

*Paridu* is a vulgar form of *pariśu*. This word exemplifies one of the most important laws of mutation in Dravidian languages : according to this law the sound *d* or *t* changes into *ś* or *ch* and latterly into *y* and rarely, *vice versa ;* e.g., *Tam. pittu, pichchu ; vaittu, vaichchu ; Tam. Tēṉ* honey) *Kan. Jēnu : kāśu, kāyu ; arisi, āriyi*, and *ari ;* conversely *śākshi, tākki ; santati, tandadi ; Subrahmaṇyan, Tuppiramaṇiyan* which is abbreviated into *Tuppan ; parisu, paridu Sapir, Tapir* and so on.

*Sapir Īśōvāl* :சபிர் ஈசோவாள். In Tamil the *passive voice* is rarely used in ordinary language and this is one such instance.

*Dēvar*. This word is generally employed in inscriptions to denote the supreme king, *e.g.*, Rājarājadēvar, Periyadēvar (the father of the reigning king), *dēvar-maḍaippaḷḷi adum peṇḍāṭṭi* (the lady who works in the royal kitchen) ; therefore in this instance it may mean to refer to the king ; it also means god, in which case, the passage may mean that god will help those who help this *viḍupēṟu*.

As regards the exact name of the builder of the Church there is certainly some difficulty. At first, in *l.* 5, he is called Ēśō dā Tapīr and in all other instances as Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō. The earlier editors have read the name as Iśōdāta Virāyi, which is incorrect. There is no *i* at the beginning of the word Ēśō but a very distinctly written *e ;* the latter part of the name may be read in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, which make no palpable difference between *p* and *v*, as Tavīr or Tapīr the initial *ta* of this word has been added by Dr. Gundert to the end of the word Ēśōda and the remaining read as Vīrāi (=virāyi of the original). As read by Gundert, this name does not fit in with the pronunciation of the name found in *l.* 25 of No. I. in *ll.* 5, 49 and 50 of No. II ; in all the latter instances, the whole name Sapīr Īśō is written in Grantha letters which fixes unmistakably the correct pronunciation of this word. In Ēśō dā Tapīr, the words Sapīr and Īśō are made to change places and between them a syllable *da* is introduced, we do not know whether consciously or unwittingly. From the uniformity of pronunciation of the word in all the other instances, we may consider that the syllable *da* is something like the Latin *de* (=of) we may therefore suppose that the real name of the person to be Maruvāṉ Īśō of Sapīr ; then, in all the other instances, Sapīr Īśō, must be taken to mean *Sapīrkkārarāya* or *Sapīr-vāśyaya Īśō'* meaning Īśō, the native or resident of Sapīr ; *Maruvāṉ* is perhaps an honorific prefix like the Syrian *Mār* prefixed to the names of Bishops. Tapīr is the corrupt form, like *paridu* (=*pariśu*) and *tandadi* (=*santati*) of Sapīr. Consequently, Ēśō dā Tapīr, is the same as Sapir Ēśō or Īśō as found in the latter part of the inscriptions Nos. I & II.

Kurakkēṇi-kkollam is the same as the modern Quilon. One of the inscriptions found in Quilon calls it distinctly by the name, Kurakkēṇi-kkollam. The document under discussion and No. II mention two persons, the Puṉṉaittalai-pati and the Āṉaikkuḍipati and they are, from the contexts, seen to be members of the Christian Community settled down at Kollam. Puṉṉaittala and Āṉaikkuḍi seem to be the house-names of two families, the heads of which appear to have been the leaders of the then Christian Community of Quilon.

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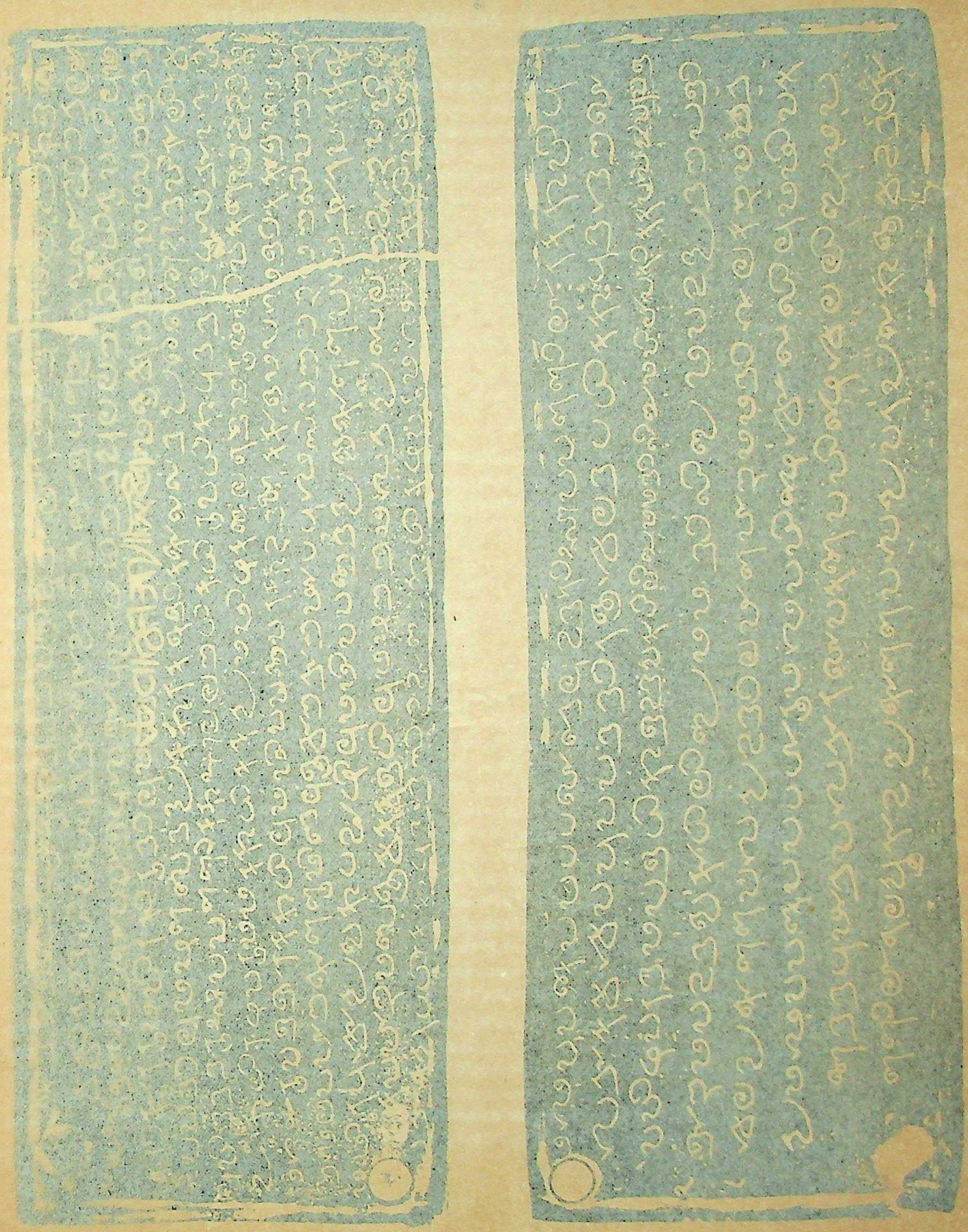



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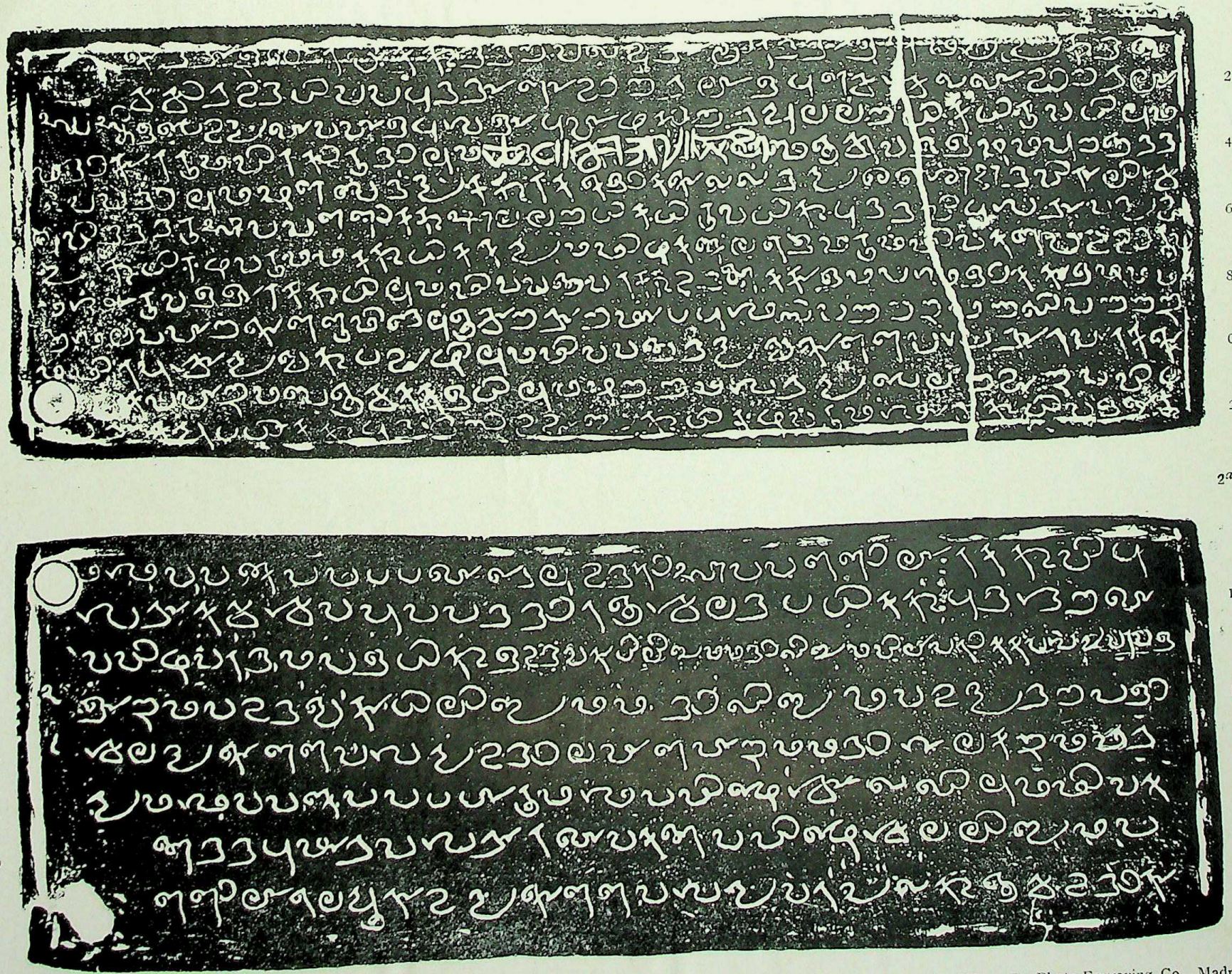

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From the concession granted here to the *Īḷavars* and *Vaṇṇārs* made over as the dependents to the Tarisāppaḷḷi, it is evident that the other *Īḷavars* and *Vaṇṇārs* were prohibited from enjoying the same privileges ; that is, the latter were, as in modern times, shut out from the privileges which their brethren who joined Christianity were given to enjoy by the active cognisance of the kings and chieftains of the West Coast. These political heads were implacable in their harsh treatment of the so-called "untouchables" so long as they remained brother-Hindus but the moment the untouchables became converts to alien faiths such as Christianity or Muhammadanism, they were recognised as of castes which may approach very near but not touch, a high-caste Hindu; they may also go as far as the *prākāra* wall (*madil*) of a Hindu temple but not enter it; these concessions are not shown to such of those untouchables who, out of sheer love for or regard to their ancestral faith, Hinduism, still stick fast to it. This illogical behaviour of the kings and chieftains of Malabar, inculcated to their ancestors by the priestly class, the Nambūdiris, and blindly followed to this day by them, is a source of great misfortune to the cause of Hinduism, and an equally great good fortune to Christianity of which innumerable missions are actively at work in Malabar and claim daily large mass of the "untouchable" Hindu population as theirs.

## Text.

*First Plate : Second Side.*

1. ஷஹ்தி [॥*] கோத்தாணு இரவிக்குத் தன் பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டும் மறுகுதலை-
2. ச்சிறந் தடிப்படுத்தாளாநின்ற யாண்டுள்ச்(1) செல்லாநின்ற யா-
3. ண்டைந்து [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு வேணாடு வாழ்கின்ற அய்யனடிகடிருவடியும்-
4. மதிகாரரும் பிரகிருதியும் [ப]ணி. [க...யும்]மஞ்சுவண்ணமும் புன்னைத்த-
5. லைப் பதியும் முள்வைத்துக் குரக்கேணிக் கொல்லத்து எழோஹதபிராயி செ-
6. ய்வித்த தருளாப்பள்ளிக்கு ஐய்யனடி(2)கடிருவடி குடுத்த விடுபேறுவது [॥*] நா-
7. லுகுடி(3) ஈழவரும்மக்குடிக்கேறும் மீழக்கைய ரெண்மரும்மிவகள்(4) பங்-
8. நிருவ- ருமொரு வண்ணரக்குடியும் மிவ்வனைவர்க்குந் தலைக்காணமும் மேணிக் காணமும் ம-
9. னை மேய்ப்பான்கொள்ளுமிறையுஞ் சான்றுன்மாட்டுமேனிப்பொன்னும் பொலிப்பொன்னு-
10. ம்மிரவுசோறுங் குடநாழியும் மிவ்வனைத்துங் கொள்ளப்பெறுர் [॥*] பார்க்கோ-

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(1) The rules of *sandhi* require this to be read as யாண்டுட்° ; தன் பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டு means literally the king's own hundreds of thousands of years ; it is practically equivalent to 'of his reign'. I have read the passage as பல நூருயிரத்தாண்டு and not பல்நூருயிரத்தாண்டு, because the author of this document uses *sandhi* in almost all instances where it is required and if he had meant it to be read as பல்நூருயிரத்தாண்டு, he would certainly have applied the rules of *sandhi* and written it பன்னூருயிரத்தாண்டு ; since he has employed ல in பல I am inclined to take that he meant the phrase to be read பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டு.

(2) Read அய்யனடிகள் ; Dr. Gundert's reading is *Śeyyanaḍiga-ḍiruvaḍiyum ;* there is a distinctly written *ai* at the beginning of the word.

(3) Dr. Gundert reads this as *nāṅguḍi* which gives no meaning.

(4) Read இவர்கள் ; Dr. Gundert reads this as வங்ஙீருபமொரு.

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11. லுங்கப்பானும் பைஞ்சக்கண்டியும் முன்னம் பெற்றுடையன் நானும் விடு-
12. பேறுக அட்டிக்குடுத்தேனிந் நாலுகுடி ஈழவரும் மொ [ரு] குடி வண்ணரு-

*Second Plate : First Side.*

13. ம் [॥*] மெவ்வகைப்பட்ட இறையுந் த [ரி] ஸாப்பள்ளியார்க்கு விடு-
14. பேறுகச் செப்புப் பத்திரஞ் செய்தட்டிக் குடுத்தேன் [॥*] இ-
15. வ்வீழவர் தம்வண்டி குணந்தங்(1) காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வியாபரிக்கப் பெறு
வர் [॥*] வண்-
16. ணனும் வந்தங்காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வந்து(2) தன் பணி
17. செய்துகொள்ளப் பெறுந் [॥*] தீயமாள்வானும் மதினயனும் மற்-
18. றும் மெவ்வகைப்பட்டாரும் மெப்பிழை சொல்லியும் மிவக-
19. ளுத்தடுமாறப் பெறார் [॥*] இவகளுப்(3) பிழை செய்யிலும் ப-
20. ள்ளியாரே(ய்) ஆரா [ய்*] ந்துகொள்ளப் பெறுவர் [॥*] உலகுஞ் சந்திரா-

*Second Plate : Second Side.*

21. தித்தரும் உள்ள நாளால்(4)லாஞ் செப்புப் பத்திரத்தி-
22. ல் பட்டபரிது(5) விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறுக அட்-
23. டிக்குடுத்தேன் [॥*] இப்பரிது(5) விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறுக
24. அய்யனடிகடிருவடியால் தீஸாப்பள்ளிக்கு அட்டு வி-
25. (த்)தக் குடுத்தான் மருவான் ஸவீரீமோ [॥*] இது காத்திலக்கில-
26. கைகிக்கும்(6) மவர்க்குத் தேவரேயனுக்கிர(ர)மஞ்(7) செய்வாராக [॥*] அ-
27. ப் [ய*] னெழுத்து ॥- வேள்குல சுந்தரனுக்கு மொக்கும் ॥- விசைய-(8)

(Incomplete).

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## Translation.

Of all the hundreds of thousands of years which have become excellent to the king Tāṇu Iravi by their rotation (or by their coming across the life of the king) (9) and (during which) he

---

(1) Read கொணர்ந்து.

(2) This second வந்து is redundant.

(3) Read இவர்கள். Dr. Gundert reads this as வந்நீருபமொரு.

(4) Read நாளெல்லாம்.

(5) Read பரிசு.

(6) Read °லக்கிக்கும் ; the letters லகைகி are redundant and engraved by mistake.

(7) Read °யனுக்கிரகஞ்°.

(8) Perhaps விசையராகவ தேவன் or °தேவனெழுத்து, or °தேவனுக்கு மொக்கும்.

(9) மறுகுதல்=சுழலல், rotating ; also குறுக்கிடுதல்=to come across one's way. In the latter sense it occurs in *Śilappadigāram* in the passage : 'ஆரிடை யுழந்த மாதரைநோக்கிக் கொடுவரி மறுகுங் குடிஞைகூப்பிடும்', புறஞ்சேரியிறுத்தகாதை, *ll.* 30-31. 'The tiger will come across (the path of or directly in front of) the women tired by their long journey ; the owls will (also) make noise'. மறுகுதலேச்சிறந்தடிப்படுத்து cannot be translated as 'treading under foot hostile heads' as has been done by Dr. Gundert.

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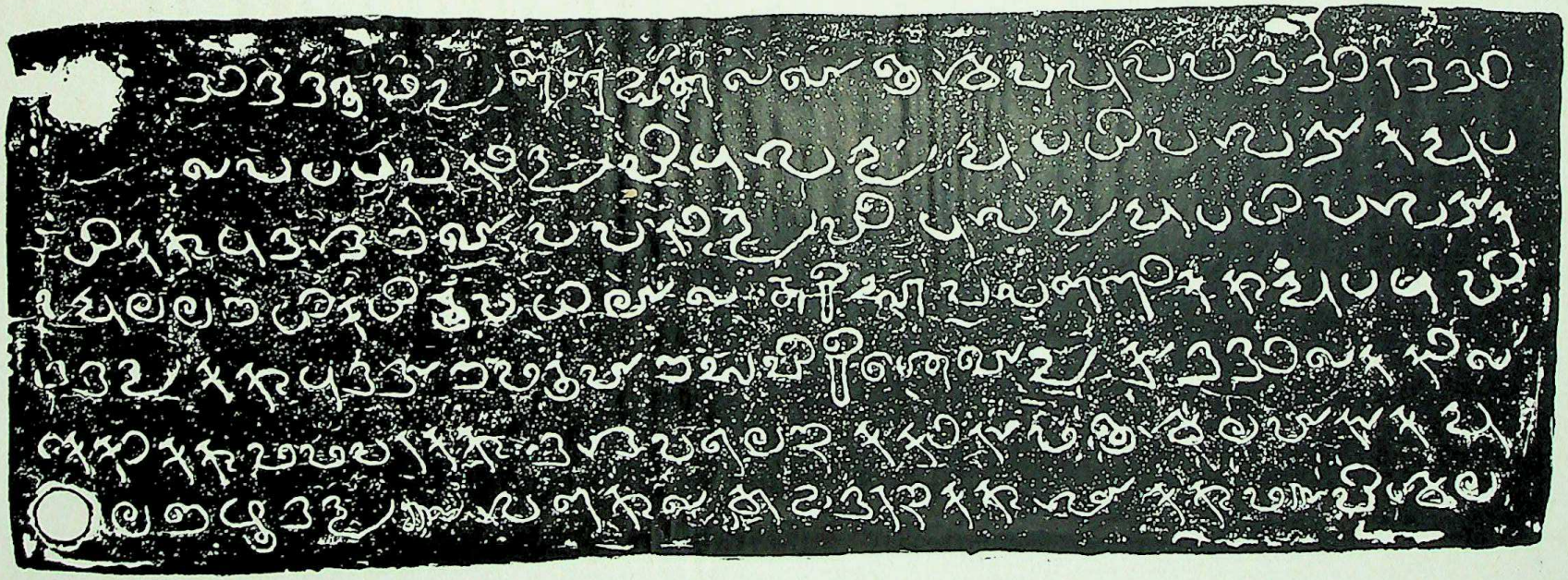
## KOTTAYAM PLATES OF STHANU RAVI. No. I.



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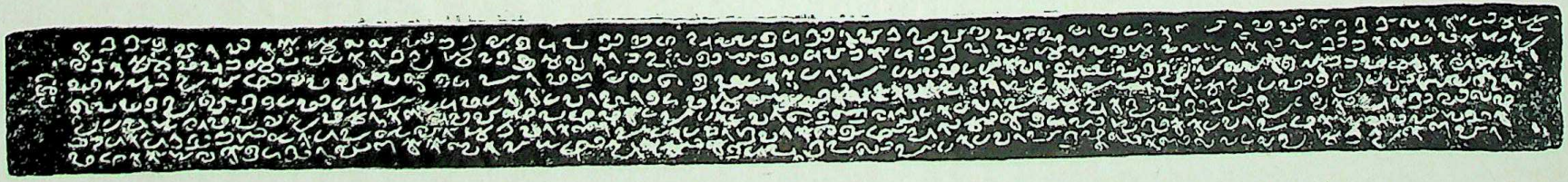
## TIRUVALLA PLATE OF STHANU RAVI. No. III.



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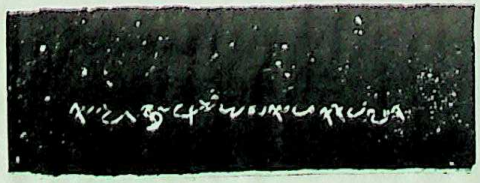

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had been ruling (the earth by) keeping (it) under his feet (1) (that is, making it subordinate to him,(2) —(of these years) the fifth which is current. In this year, while Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the Vēṇāḍu (3) was in assembly with the *Adigārar*, the *Prakṛiti*, the.....the *Añjuvaṇṇam* and the *Puṇṇaittalaip-pati*, the *viḍupēṛu* which was given by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi to the Tarisāppaḷḷi which was constructed by Eśō dā Tapīr (4) himself at Kurakkēṇi Kollam, was (as follows) :—

Four families of *Īḷavar* and eight *Īḷakkaiyar* belonging to these families, (thus) making twelve (in number) and one family of *Vaṇṇār* : the *taḷaikkāṇam*, the *ēṇikkāṇam*, the tax levied on thatching houses, the (body tax) poll-tax received from the *Śāṇṛāṇ*, the *polippoṇ* ; the *iravuchchōṛu* and the *kuḍa nāḷi*, all these, they (the government officials) are not entitled to collect (from the families handed over to the Tarisāppaḷḷi).

I, who have received before the *pārkkōl*, *kappāṇ* and *paṇcha-kkaṇḍi*, I have given these four families of *Īḷavars* and one of *Vaṇṇāṇs* as *viḍu-pēṛu* by the pouring of water. I have (also) given, as *viḍu-pēṛu*, by the pouring of water the deed (of grant engraved) on copper, of every kind of tax to the people of the Tarisāppaḷḷi.

These *Īḷavars* may (or are permitted to) bring their carts into the market and within the (fort) walls and ply their trade. The washerman also may, by coming into the market and within the (fort) walls, do his work. (5) The *Tiyam-āḷvāṇ* and the *Madil-ṇāyaṇ* and whatever sort of other people, should not, by imputing to these any (kind of) mistakes, cause any disturbance

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(1) *அடிப்படுத்தல்* = Making a thing to take refuge under one's feet; subordinating, subjugating, converting to one's own faith and taking under one's protection.

(2) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " In the time (literally, year) of Perumāḷ (*Cō*, King, or *Gō*) Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta, who now rules gloriously for many 100,000 years, treading under foot hostile kings,....." No mention of Perumāḷ is found in the original; how he introduces this word in the translation is not evident ; he leaves off *prakṛiti*, *etc.*, from the translation. Again, he appears at first to make Sthāṇu Ravi himself the donor, by translating, " under the concurrence of His Excellency (?) the Ayyan Aḍigaḷ, governing the Vēṇāḍu, " but strangely enough, he states further below, " the following grant of a free-hold has been given by His Excellency the Ayyan Aḍigaḷ.....".

The occurrence of the word *Gupta* in the translation is accountable for the mislection of Dr. Gundert of the passage *தாணு இரவிக்குத் தன்* into *தாணுஇரவிக்குத்தன்* which is taken to be the same as *தாணு இரவிக்குப்தன்*.

(3) *நாடுவாழ்த்தல்* : compare, " *குறையலூர்வாழி = திருக்குறையலூரை அவதாரஸ்தலமாக வுடையவராய், அதுவாழும்படி அத்தை நோக்குகிற ராஜாவென்னுதல்.*"

Commentary on the Periya-Tirumoḷi of Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār by Periyavāchchan-piḷḷai.

(4) The name of the donee has been read as Īśōdāta Virāi, which ought, as has been pointed out, to be read as Ēśō dā Tavīr+āyi ; the word *āyi* is the same as *āgi* ; with this ending the phrase Ēśō da Tapīr āyi means Ēśō dā Tapīr (tāṉ-taṉṉē) āyi, Ēśō dā Tapīr by himself ; hence the reading *Virāi* has no justification.

(5) *பெறும்* : this usage is exactly similar to the modern Malayāḷam usage ; what is neuter in Tamil, such as *பெறும்*, *வரும்*, etc., is employed alike in connection with the masculine, the feminine and neuter nouns and pronouns, singular and plural, in the modern Malayāḷam thus :— *ராமன்*, *லக்ஷ்மி*, *பசு* ; *பிராமணர்*, *அச்சிமார்*, *பசுக்கள்* ; *அவன்*, *அவள்*, *அது* ; *அவர்கள்* and *அவை*, *பெறும்*, *வரும்*, &c.

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(to them). (1) Even should these (people) commit any mistakes, (such mistakes) should be enquired into by the members of the *Palḷi*. (2)

I gave the items of the *viḍu-pēṟu* detailed in the copper document as an *aṭṭipperu* (to the Tarisāppaḷḷi) to last as many days as the earth, the sun and the moon last. The *viḍu-pēṟu* containing these conditions was caused to be given to the Tarisāppaḷḷi as an *aṭṭippēṟu* by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi through (the efforts of) Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. God (or the king) himself would bless (or show his grace) to those who guard and protect this (the *viḍu-pēṟu*). (This is) the writing of Ayyaṉ. (This is) agreeable to Vēḷkulasundara also. Viśai .....

No. II.

This inscription is engraved on three plates, of which the first two now belong to the old Syrian Christian Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and the last one to the Bishop of the Reformed or the Mar Thoma Syrian Christians at Tiruvallā. The first two plates contain the Tamil portion of the document in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and end with the signatures of the donor and his officers in an archaic form Nāgarī (?); the last plate bears on both of its sides signatures of witnesses (?) in what according to Haug, is said to be three different scripts and in three different languages, namely, Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew respectively. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu of this record appears to be of a later date, but since the substance of it is apparently of the same period as No. I, we have to take No. II as a copy of an older document of almost the same age as No. I. As mentioned above, No. II is a fragmentary record wanting in its first part. The peculiarity of reduplicating the final *m* of the conjunctive particle *um* is repeated in this inscription also; *e. g.*, °*vilaiyum-mulai-vilaiyum* in *l.* 19. The existing portion of the inscription begins with an enumeration of the gift to the Tarisāppaḷḷi of some additional families of professional men thus:—

(1) two families of.....

(2) one of Tachchar (carpenters).

(3) four families of Veḷḷāḷar for farming the lands belonging to the church.

These, (perhaps meaning only the Veḷḷāḷar), are required to sow all kinds of seeds and plant all trees just as they were doing before for the king, and to pay the taxes, &c., to the king, and supply to the church the oil and other articles required for its use without any remissness.

The land that was granted to the Tarisāppaḷḷi constructed by Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō, who founded the city of Quilon, was bounded on the east by the arable land (*vayalk-kāḍu*); on the south-east by the back-water (*kāyil*) and the (fort) wall which has in it the small gateway; on the west by the sea; on the north by the garden known as the Tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam and on the north-east by the garden belonging to Aṇḍilaṉ of the Puṉṉaitalai house. These boundaries of this land were fixed by the ceremony of leading a female-elephant round it (*piḍi-naḍatti*) and was granted by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi governor of the lesser half (of Vēṇāḍu) in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar (= Vijayarāghava Dēvar) the *kōyil-adigāri*, that is, the adviser to the king (*lit.* the agent of the palace), and others. The donors further ordered that no one should accuse the

(1) The reading here ought to be தமமாற்றப்பெறார், because it goes with இவகளை.

(2) Regarding the pronunciation in ancient times in the Tamil countries and in the Malayāḷam of the present day of the words ending in *ē* and *ai*, see my article in *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. IV pp. 399-401. They are sounded as if there was a *y* at the end: here, பள்ளியாடே is written பள்ளியாடேய் as it was actually pronounced then. In the present day Malayāḷam அவ்விடத்திலே (in that place, there, or the honoured person spoken to) with the dative suffix *ku* is written அவ்விடத்திலேய்க்கு instead of அவ்விடத்திலேக்கு and the intruding *y* is conjuncted with the succeeding *kku*, thus, *ykku*.

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foreign settlers and their dependants of any misdeed; if such misdeeds were actually perpetrated by any of them they should be tried only by the church-men and punished. The members of the community known as the Six Hundred (*aṟunūṟṟuvar*), the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam were enjoined to do everything in their power for the good of the church and its land, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the copper plate document, as long as the earth, the sun and the moon endure.

Again, the *viḍupēṟu* granted to the church-people by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar, the *kōyiladigāri* and others, were :—

(1)..... (This portion is damaged and the remaining passage is not intelligible).

(2) No poll-tax should be levied on the slaves kept by the church authorities.

(3) The church-men might collect eight *kāśus* (a kind of coin) during the passage into or out of the jurisdiction of the church (?) of merchandise brought in loads (*vāyinam*) by land (?) and four *kāśus* per boat every time it came in or went out of the harbour (*veḍiyilum* ?)

(4) Customs duty should be levied on all dutiable articles only in their presence and with their co-operation.

(5) The fixing of the prices of these commodities and every other business of the king (perhaps only those pertaining to trade and not his private business) should be done only with the help of the people of the church.

(6) The customs collected day after day should be taken care of by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam.

(7) Whatever portion of the land, which was situated within the four gates (of the fort or palace-grounds) and which was treated as not required for the use (of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and therefore rented out to farmers,—the king's dues (*kōppadavāram*) on such land should be collected by the palace (agents) and the dues of the *Patis* (the Puṉṉaittalaippati, and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati, the *patippadavāram*), by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (conjointly).

(8) On auspicious occasions such as marriage, etc., these people were permitted to enjoy the seventy-two *viḍupērus* such as the carrying of earth and water required for the ceremonies on elphants (*āṉaimēl-maṇṇunirum*).

All these *viḍupērus* were granted to the church of Tarisā by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, after due consultation with the *kōyil-adigāri*, Viyarāgattēvar, the *Prakṛitiyār*, the *Aṟunūṟṟuvar*, the Puṉṉaittalaippati and the Pūḷaikkudippati, for enjoyment in the manner described in the copper-plates as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last.

If any complaints arose among the Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam peoples and others the former two should stop the *ulgu* and *tulā-kkūli* on the merchandise that were exported to the countries beyond the king's realm, and the differences settled amicably between them and the others, their aggressors.

If there were mistakes in their own conduct, the faults should be enquired into conjointly by the Maṇigrāmam Añjuvaṇṇam and the two *patis*; and whatever conclusions they arrived at should be final.

Sapīr Īśō, was bound to make over the weighment-charges to the church, by virtue of his receipt of the *pārkkōl* and the *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of the church. This privilege was also granted to him as an *aṭṭippēṟu* to last till eternity. So much about the contents of the actual document. Then follow what appear to be the signatures of the donors which are engraved

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in the last line on the second side of the second plate. The third plate contains on both sides writing in the Pahlavi, Hebrew and other alphabets.

This document also is full of unintelligible words and phrases and it is therefore necessary to give short notes on such words and phrases below, before attempting a regular translation of the whole inscription.

*Kārāḷar* and *Kārāṇmai*. These words are derived from the same root and are very closely related to each other. One of the Tamil dictionaries gives the meaning of the first of these words curtly as the *śūdras* or the *bhūvaiśyas* and omits any mention about their origin. The Malayāḷam dictionary of Dr. Gundert contains the explanation of the word as it is current in the Malayāḷam language; it states that *kārālar* means workers, agents, temple-servants (generally) and tenants who hold the land for a long series of years; so, possessors of a free-hold; and *kārāṇmai* or *kārāyma* as it is pronounced in modern Malayāḷam, is, according to Gundert, the office of a *kārāḷaṉ*, a freehold. The ancient Tamil dictionary, the *Divākara-Nighaṇṭu* has

வளமையர் வேளாளர், மண்மகட்புதல்வர்,
வார்த்தைத்தொழிலோர், வண்களமருதுவர்,
சீர்த்தவேளின் வாழ்நர், காராளர்.

which means, 'the names of *kārāḷar* are *vaḷamaiyār* (those that work for bringing about fertility), *Vēḷāḷar*, sons of the earth-goddess (*bhūmagaḷ-pudalvar*) those engaged in words (*vārttai-ttoḻilōr*, poets ?), workers in fields (*kaḷamar*), tillers of soil (*uḻavar*) and those who live by the plough (*sīrttav=ēriṉ vāḻṉar*.)

The *Piṉgalandai-Nighaṇṭu* says that the names of the people of the *maruda-nilam*,—that is, the flat country with fine irrigation facilities, where the chief agricultural produce is paddy,—are *kaḷamar*, *uḻavar*, *kaḍaiñar*, *śilādar*, *maḷḷar* and *meḻiyar* (those who employ the plough in their business). From these two authoritative sources we learn that *kārāḷar* are the inhabitants of the tract of river-irrigated land, who are employed in paddy and other cultivation. The etymological meaning of the word *kārāḷar* is 'those that rule the clouds'; from this, the connotation extended to those who work with water and those that are firmly attached to the duties of tilling and cultivating the soil of the *marudanilam*. If a family takes a lease or binds itself to be the cultivators, of a plot of land there is no reason to eject it from their lease until it is found unsatisfactory; so, the family may continue to be the tenants of that land from generation to generation, and be systematically paying to the landlord its dues. That such a state of things existed throughout the Dravidian countries in earlier times, and is still current in Malabar is patent from the more restricted meaning, 'the holder of a free-hold' which the word *kārāḷar* possesses now in Malayāḷam. Such free-holds were granted to the servants of temples for fixed services and from these circumstances the meaning of the word became still more narrow in Malabar and began to signify a temple-servant.

*Kaḍam* appears to be an older or perhaps also a dialectic form of *kaḍan* and is from the same root as the word *kaḍamai* and means a debt, an obligation or a due.

*Samaittal=amaittal*, establishing, setting up or preparing: in this document it means established.

The word *kaṇḍu* affixed to such words as *nagaram*, *kōyil*, etc., has a special meaning, namely, to found, to build anew or to make, as in *'nuṉ-viṉai-kkammiyar kāṇā marabiṉa'* (*Śilappadigāram, Indra-viḻav-ūr-eḍutta kādai, l.* 106), and means 'not done by workmen of great skill'; also in phrases like *kōyil-kulaṅ-kāṇa*, meaning to construct a temple, a tank, etc. In this sense the word *kāṇudal* is used in *Śoṉṉa-varai pōl tiruk-kōpuramuṅ-gāṇat-tuḍiy-iḍaiyāy upāṉa-mudal*

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*tuḍakkiṉāṉē* (Teṉkāśi Ins. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Volume I, p. 96.), 'to build the beautiful gōpura, like a mountain of gold, oh ' damsel who has a waist resembling the *tuḍi* (*ḍamaru*, a kind of drum) ! (the king Parākrama Pāṇḍya) began from the *upāna* (the base)'. In all other instances *kāṇudal* means simply, seeing, finding out. If the text of our inscription uses this word in the first and less frequently occurring sense, we have to understand that the 'city' of Kurakkēṇi-kkollam *was founded* by Maruvān Sapīr Īśō and consequently, the Kollam era, which records no other event but the founding of the town of Quilon [1], should perpetuate the landing in and occupation and extension of the town of Kollam. If such an assumption is correct at all, it would drive us to the conclusion that the exact date of the settlement of Sapīr Īśō at Kollam should be the first day of the month Āvaṇi (Chiṅgam) of A.D. 825; and, then, the word *nīr ēṟṟa* would mean, he who received the water (poured in token of *aṭṭippēṟu*) in his hands. No doubt, the phrase *innagaraṅ-ganḍu nirēṟṟa* could very well refer to the founding of the city of Quilon.

*Tarisāppalḷi.* The following interesting note of the Rev. Peet (of Māvēlikkara) on Tarisā is appended to the paper of Dr. Gundert:—" Dharyyāyikkaḷ (opposed to Maṇigrāmakkārs), steadfast confessors, exist still in S. Travancore, have their ceremonies conducted by Syrian priests and differ from the Nazranies merely only in their preserving the hair tuft". On this the Rev. Taylor remarks, " I see no reason, to give up my former conjecture as to the identity of *dharyya* and the Tarisā of the inscriptions.....I find in John de Monte Corvino's travels that the Nestorians in China and Tartary were called ' Tarisā ', the word is there spoken of as of Mongolian etymology. Might it not be derived from Tarsus, since the heads of the Nestorians (such as Diodor of Tarsus) were from Cilicia and the whole sect may have affected to derive their origin from Paul's birth place ? "

*Piḍi-śūḷḍal :* This is an old institution and is mentioned in the Leiden and the Aṉbil grants of the Chōḷa kings Rājēndrachōḷa and Sundarachōḷa respectively. In the former the passage referring to this custom reads *kariṇī-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīma-chatushṭayam*, and *piḍi-śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu*, passages which are translated into ' whose boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant ' and ' making the elephant walk round the plot of ground and defining the extent of the land '; in the Aṉbil plates we read ' *ibhī-parita-sīma*', land circuited by a female elephant. The ceremony involved in this custom appears to be to let loose a female elephant and to carefully note the path she pursues and fix this as the boundary of the land which is to be granted. The extent of land enclosed by the path of the elephant is called the *ibhī-parita-sīma* or *piḍi-śūḷnda nilam.*

*Añjuvaṇṇam, Maṇigrāmam* and the *Aṟunūṟṟuvar :* These three words have given the greatest trouble to the translators. Ellis takes Añjuvaṇṇam to mean the ' five degrees of legitimate title', while Gundert understands it as ' the possessor of the five colours' and later on he corrects this notion of his and states that it means one of the four emigrated merchant tribes. In support of this latter interpretation he quotes the *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla*, an ancient Malayalam poem thus:

Chāvāḷarai-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
Changātam vēṇum perigay-ippōḷ
kōvatala-chetṭi añjuvaṇṇam

[1] In all ancient inscriptions in which the Kollam era is quoted, the expression *Kollam tōṉṟi* occurs before the number of years of that era ; thus in the inscription of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII,) we read *Kollam tōṉṟi nūṟṟu-nāṟpātt-oṉbadām-āṇḍu*, which means the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared (or came into existence). This usage clearly indicates the coming into existence (prominently) of the city of Kollam.

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kūṭṭam maṇikkirāmattār makkaḷ
nammaḷāl nālu nagarattilum
nal-are kkōkudichchērnnōr.

that is, 'strong guards are required—take the childern of Gōvatala-cheṭṭi, of Añjuvaṇṇam and of the Maṇigrāmam, people who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns'. The later opinion of Gundert therefore is that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Dr. Hultzsch translates the word Añjuvaṇṇam and *Añjuvaṇṇa-ppēṟu* into the village of Añjuvaṇṇam and the revenue from the (village of) Añjuvaṇṇam. From the fact that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were considered two different trading bodies, Dr. Gundert and following him Dr. Burnell and others understood Añjuvaṇṇam referred to the colony of the Jews and Maṇigrāmam to that of the Christians; further they supposed that the Jewish colony came into existence by the grant of the Cochin plates and the Christian settlement by the grant of the Kōṭṭayam plates of the reign of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti. That this supposition is quite incorrect was pointed out by the late Mr. Venkayya :—"From the extracts and from the references to *Payyanūr paṭṭōla* it appears that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were semi-independent trading corporations like the Vaḷañjiyar.....There is nothing either in the Cochin grant or the subjoined inscription (that of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti) to show that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were, as was believed by Dr. Gundert and others, Jewish and Christian principalities respectively. It was supposed by Dr. Burnell that the plates of Vīrarāghava *created* the principality of Maṇigrāmam and the Cochin plates that of Añjuvaṇṇam and consequently the existence of these two grants is presupposed by the plates of Sthāṇu Ravi which mentions both Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam very often. The Cochin plates did not *create* Añjuvaṇṇam but conferred the honour and privileges connected therewith to a Jew named Joseph Rabban. Similarly the rights and honours associated with the other corporation, Maṇigrāmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravi-kkoṟṟaṉ. Therefore Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam must have existed as institutions even before the earliest of these three copper-plates was issued." The opinion of Mr. Venkayya is the one best suited to the context of all the records in which the word Añjuvaṇṇam occurs. Literally it means five colours and by extension of its connotation, five castes. From the two Kōṭṭayam plates we learn that five castes contributed to the bulk of converts to Christianity and these were Īḷavar, Tachchar, Veḷḷāḷar, Vaṇṇār and one more which is not legible in the inscription. These, in all probability, formed the Añjuvaṇṇattār.

As regards the word Maṇigrāmam, Dr. Burnell and others understood it to mean the Manichean followers of Maruvân Sapīr Īśō. Rev. Peet writes about the Maṇigrāmakkārar thus :—"Maṇigrāmam is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māṇikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *maṇi* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a subdivision of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaens, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon." The word Maṇigrāmam occurs in one of the inscriptions of the reign of Rājakēsarivarman in Tiruveḷḷaṟai near Trichinopoly. The passage runs thus :—*Oru brāhmaṇaṇai ūṭṭuvidāga Ūṟaiyūr Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṉ Nāchchaṉ...vachcha poṉ*.....Here it does not appear to convey the meaning given above, namely, a Christian colony. Anyhow, the word in all the documents under notice clearly indicates a close alliance of the Maṇigrāmakkārs with the Christian Sapīr Īso and therefore were likely themselves Christians.

From the fact that the Añjuvaṇṇakkārs and the Maṇigrâmakkārs observed the ceremony of *aṅkurārpaṇa* during their marriages it would appear that they still continued to be Hindus, though they served the Christians. It is quite likely that some of those families which were

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made over to the Christian merchant prince, Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, did not become Christians at all, but remaining Hindus they served their new masters, the Christians, and on that account they became degraded in the eyes of their castemen. This last supposition might account for the existence at present of a sect of Śūdras known as the Maṇigrāmakkār, who are said to be looked down by the other Śūdras as their inferiors.

*Aṟunūṟṟuvar* may or may not be Christians. But in all probability it refers to a community of six hundred persons who were holding control over the affairs of a particular *nāḍu* or division of a country. We see instances of such corporate bodies mentioned in other inscriptions; *e. g.*, *Naṉṟuḷai-nāṭṭu-muṉṉūṟṟuvar*, the three hundred of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. Again, at the present day the Romo-Syrians are divided into the Eḷunūṟṟukkārs and Aññūṟṟukkārs, the community of the seven hundred and that of the five hundred, or, as they are otherwise known as the Sudists and the Nordists.

The word *ulgu* has been read as such by Ellis and also understood in the sense of sea-customs. Whereas the other editors of the Kōṭṭayam grants have read the word as *ulagu* and *ulaguṭṭuñ-jarakku*. Dr. Gundert translates the latter phrase as 'the merchandize belonging to the citizen.' The word *ulagu* occurs in *ll.* 28, 29, 34 and 46. In two out of these four instances, the word may be read as *ulagu* and this reading will suit as well as *ulgu*, but in the remaining two instances *ulagu* will make no intelligent meaning. The correct lection therefore is *ulgu* and it has been so read in the present edition of the documents.

The terms *talai-vilai* and *mulai-vilai* are also not intelligible. As understood by Gundert they literally mean the head-price and the breast-price, but their exact significance is not easy to determine. Gundert suggests that they are probably the right of selling males and females for serious caste offences. I confess I am unable to agree with him nor am I myself in a position to say what those terms mean.

*Vāyiṇam* and *veḍi* or *peḍi* are again two words the meanings of which are unknown. Ellis and Gundert have given interpretations which are not convincing; they seem to be wrong. Ellis translates the passage *veḍiyālum vāyaṇattālum pāguḍattālum*, as 'and tribute, with awe and oblations' and adds '*vāyaṇam* or *pāyaṇam*=upāyaṇam=reverence and offering'. Gundert translates the same as 'uses of elephants and horses' by taking *peḍi* as *piḍi* and reading *vāyaṇam* as *vāhanam*. Hultzsch follows the interpretation of Gundert.

The next phrase whose meaning has not been properly understood is *Āṇai-mēl-maṇṇu-nīrum*. Gundert translates it as 'the *viḍupēru* such as the elephant's back, the earth and the water, etc.' or 'earth and water on the elephant,—at all events marks of nobility'. The Tamil literary usage is *maṇṇum maṇamum* and it occurs in Periyāḻvār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu*; the passage runs thus:—

*vāḻ-āṭpaṭṭu niṉṟuḷḷīrēl vandu maṇṇum maṇamum koṇmiṉ*

(Tiruppallāṇḍu, verse 3, line 1.)

The commentary on it reads thus:—*tirumuḷai-ttirunāḷukku-ppuḷudi-maṇ śumakkukaiyum anda-kkalliyāṇattuku abhimāniyāyirukkaiyum*, (1) meaning, carrying fine earth for the ceremony of

(1) "மண்ணுக்கும் மணத்துக்கும் உரியார் அர்த்தாங்கமான அடியாரிறே. அடிமை விலையோலையெழுதும்போதும் 'மண்ணுக்கும் மணத்துக்கும் உரியனாக வேணும்' என்றிறேயெழுதுவது. மண்ணுவது-ஸ்வாமிக்கு ஒரு மங்களமுண்டானால் அங்குரார்ப்பணத்துக்குப் புழுதிமண் சுமக்கை. மணமாவது-அத்தக் கல்யாணத்துக்குத்தான் அபிமானியாயிருக்கை.....'கூழாள்'—என்று சோற்றுக்காக ஆரேனுக்கும் தன்னை யெழுதிக்கொடுக்கை."

திருப்பல்லாண்டு வியாக்கியானம், verse 3.

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*muḷaippāḷigai* or *aṅkurārpaṇa* and conducting as persons interested in the marriage (for which the *muḷaippāḷigai* ceremony was begun). Those that are fit for *maṇṇum* and *maṇamum* are said to be those that are intimate with the person in whose house the marriage takes place. Periyavāchchāṉ-Piḷḷai, the commentator, adds that when deeds of slavery (that is, of the sale and purchase of slaves, as also when a free person sells himself as a slave for the sake of food) are drawn up the phrase *maṇṇum maṇattukkum uriyaṇāga vēṇum* is usually entered therein. It is therefore clear that *āṇaimēl maṇṇum nīrum* means carrying earth and water for *aṅkurārpaṇa* on occasions of marriage on the back of elephants.

Having given the meaning of the difficult words that occur in the document, I shall proceed to discuss its historical aspect. It is stated in the inscription that Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō founded the city of Kollam and built in it the Tarisāppaḷḷi; he also received the *pārkkōl* and *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of this *paḷḷi* and received from the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi the gift of a number of families of artizans and others. Duty on all dutiable articles had to be levied by him and all other business of state pertaining to trade had to be transacted by the same person with the co-operation of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people. Besides being himself thus honoured personally, Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō got also for the two communities of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam, which were closely allied with him, some privileges and duties.

The Kollam era is known, from the way in which it is referred to in inscriptions, to have come into existence from the time of the founding of the city of Kollam and we further know that in that city the Vēṇāḍu prince had a garden palace with a number of storeys (*Kollattu pūṅgāviṉuḷ uyariya koṭṭil*) and that he was often sojourning in it, (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX). If the founding of the city of Kollam mentioned in the Kōṭṭayam plates refers to the same event as that commemorated by the Kollam era, it is certain that the advent of the merchant Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō ought to have taken place in A. D. 825. The Christian traders under the lead of Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō ought to have come to the west coast of the Madras Presidency, much in the same way as the English merchants of the East India Company came and settled on the east coast. The former must have improved the city of Kollam, built in it factories and warehouses and residential quarters for themselves and their dependants; the Tarisāppaḷḷi was constructed for their worship. All these might have taken them some years at the end of which they were recognised as important factors in the commercial prosperity of the city of Kollam and of the kingdom in general, by the local prince and his overlord, namely, Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Kō Sthāṇu Ravi, who have granted to them help in the shape of men and several privileges and made Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō practically a political head, having civil and criminal jurisdiction over the people placed under him. The public recognition of the merit of the Christian merchant Sapīr Īśo might have been announced some thirty or forty years after his settlement in Kollam and hence the palæography of the inscription is more of the latter part of the 9th century A. D. than of its first quarter. The king Sthāṇu Ravi and the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi must therefore have lived in the second half of the ninth century.

The following inscription in the Śiva temple at Tillaisthānam mentions a Chēramāṉ Kō-Tāṇu Iravi as a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman who overran the Toṇḍaināḍu and extended his dominions so far:—

1. ஷஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] தொண்டைநாடு பரவின சோழன் பல்-
2. யாணைக் கோக்கண்டனு இன(1) ராஜகேஸரிவர்மனு-
3. ஞ்ஞ் சேரமான் கோத்தாணு இரவியாஞ்ஞ் தவிசுஞ்சா-
4. மரையுஞ் சிவிகையுந் தி[மி]லையுங் கோயிலும் போனக-

(1) Read கண்டனுயின.

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5. முங் காளமுங் களிற்றுநிரையுஞ் செம்பியன்றமிழ்வேளை-
6. ன்னுங் குலப்பியரும் பெற்ற விக்கிஅண்ணன் றேவிவா(யர்)ன
7. கடம்ப மாதேவி திருநெய்த்தானத்து மாதேவர்க்கொரு நந்தாவிளக்கி-
8. னுக்கு க்குடுத்த ஆடுநூறு [॥*] வதாஹேஶ்வரரெஹ ॥—

## Translation.

Hail Prosperity! The wife of Vikki Aṇṇaṉ, who was honoured by the king Kaṇḍaṉ Rājakēsarivarman who was the possessor of several elephants and by the Chēramāṉ Kō-tTāṇu Iravi, with (the privilege of using) the seat (of honour), the *chauris*, the palanquin, the drum, a palace, (royal) dinner, (participation in it perhaps) and the bugle and (who was presented) with a battalion of elephants and the hereditary title of Śembiyaṉ Tamiḻa-vēḷ,—Kaḍambamahādēvi (the wife of Vikki Aṇṇaṉ above mentioned) gave to the god Mahādēva at Tiruneyttānam a perpetual lamp, for which the number of sheep given by her is a hundred. May these be under the protection of the several *māhēśvaras*.

The Chōḻa king who extended his sovereignty over the Toṇḍaināḍu was, as we know from other sources, Rājakēsarivarman Āditya, the first. He allied himself with the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya, and uprooted the Pallava dynasty and extended his dominions over the whole of the Toṇḍaināḍu. Therefore Āditya I ought to have lived in about the second half of the ninth century, for, we know Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 862-3 upwards. The palæography of the Tillaisthānam record also points to the same period.

It might be now argued that since from the palæographical standpoint of the Tillaisthānam and the Kōṭṭayam records we can assign to Sthāṇu Ravi no earlier date than the last quarter of the ninth century, the Kollam era cannot be said to have had its origin in the settlement of the Christian traders in Kollam. Another argument which can also be urged against the hypothesis is that such an event as the settlement of a colony of foreigners at Kollam could never have given rise to an era universally adopted by the whole of the Malaināḍu; if Kollam was founded and made prosperous by the Christian traders, the people in and round Kollam might count their years from the date of the advent amidst them of the traders, out of gratitude to them for making their city very prosperous, but why should the Malayāḷis of the other parts of the country also do so? If, on account of the palæography we cannot assign the records to the first quarter of the ninth century, the interpretation of the phrase *innagaram kaṇḍu nīṛṛa* cannot be 'who founded this city and received the grant of (the *kārāṇmai* of) it', but must be translated as 'who saw this city and received afterwards the grant of the *kārāṇmai* of it'.

Certainly the arguments against the hypothesis are not altogether negligible. However, it is not improbable that the settlement of a colony of foreign traders at Kollam took place in A. D. 825 and brought great commercial prosperity to the kingdom and that the grant of privileges came later on. If we suppose Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō was about thirty years of age when he landed in Kollam, say, in 825, he would not be more than 70 or 75 years old when he and his community were honoured by Sthāṇu Ravi in about 860-70. The palæographical evidence is therefore not so insurmountable as it appears at first sight.

As for the other objection, we may point out that the whole Malabar country was practically under the sway of one sovereign and if he issued a mandate that the people should thenceforth count their years from the date of landing in Kollam by Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō, it would surely be

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obeyed by the whole of Malainādu which was ruled over by him. Did not the Guptas, the Chālukyas and even the Hoysaḷas found eras which had nothing sacred about them, except that they commemorated the achievements of some famous member of their families and did not these eras find acceptance among their subjects, who were dating all their records in these eras? Was not the occupation for the first time of the strip of land that formed out of the sea near Cochin made the origin of the *Pudu-vaippu* era, which was current till so late a period as a hundred years ago in the country which is at present known as the Cochin State? (See *Trav. Arch. Series*, pp. 22-23). We learn from the Tirukkaṇḍiyur inscription (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290) that the date of construction of the Śiva temple in it gave birth to an era which was current in that tract of the country: similarly, the building of the Śiva temple at Tirunakkarai in Kōṭṭayam has given rise to another local era; again, notice the method of computing the years in the following instance: *Tirukkulaśēkarapurattu taḷikku-chchellāniṉṟa yāṇḍu nuṟṟu-ttonnūṟṟ-aiñu, ivvāṇḍu Makara-nāyiṟṟu*.....that is, in the Makara month of the year one hundred and ninty-five (after its construction) of the temple at Tirukkulaśēkharapuram...; nay, do we, Hindus, not use very freely the Christian era at the present time to the exclusion of all Hindu eras? Why should the Śālivāhana era which had nothing to do with Southern India, find favour with the southerners? The only answer to these objections is that the Hindus were not, as they are even now, so bigotted as to refuse to adopt any convenient era for all secular purposes. Some might feel inclined to think that the state of civilization and the free intercourse with foreigners at the present time is largely responsible for the cosmopolitan spirit of the modern Hindu and the Hindus of the medieval period cannot be expected to be so liberal in their views in all such matters as the moderner. It would in the first place be wrong to say that the civilization at that time had not progressed so far as it is now; it certainly had attained a very high degree, but only, it was of a different type. The intercourse with foreigners was no less in those days than it is at present, especially on the west coast. The all-important business of the people in Malabar was trade and they had customers from Arabia, Egypt and Europe, and the commingling of nations in business should necessarily have produced the same spirit of cosmopolitanism which characterises the present day. The very facts that the kings permitted the Christians to erect a *paḷḷi* for their worship in the midst of their capital city and freely made over Hindu families for conversion by them to their faith and the utilisation of their services for themselves, would clearly evidence the immense degree of toleration which the kings and the people possessed in those days. Again, the fact that the era is in universal use throughout Malabar also distinctly points to the conclusion that it was imposed upon his subjects by Sthāṇu Ravi (or any other sovereign, if my hypothesis be incorrect), and that he had jurisdiction over the Malabar country. So much about the date of the record and of the probability of the Christian settlement having been the origin of the Kollam era.

The second point of interest in the document is the formation of a large corporation of merchants from the natives of the soil who either became converts to the faith of the aliens or subjects of foreign merchant princes like Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. The community of Añjuvaṇṇam, as I have already expressed, appears to me to be composed of the members of the five communities, the Īḷavar, the Vaṇṇār, the Veḷḷāḷar, the Tachchar and one other caste whose name is lost. The Añjuvaṇṇam people also exercised some influence in the management of the trade and in the affairs of the church. The community called the Maṇigrāmam is still an insoluble riddle; who they were, when they came to exist and under what circumstances—all these cannot even be guessed at present. The name Maṇigrāmam occurs in inscriptions in parts of the country which had no touch of the Christians (the Manichaens) and in these instances Maṇigramam does not appear to be Christian at all.

Another noteworthy fact in the document is the creation of the exalted position of *patis* and the heads of the two families, the Puṉṉaittalai house and the Pūaikuḍi house, were conferred

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upon them this distinguishing title. The influence of these merchant princes seems to have lasted long and their administrative functions also appear to have been exercised for several centuries after the date of this document; there is also a tradition current that there ruled in some part of Malabar (near Quilon or Kāyanguḷam) a Christian prince and curious stories of his being a nephew of the Cochin Rāja, who became a convert to Christianity and ruled over a small portion of the country, which eventually lapsed into the kingdom of the Hindu princes of the land. Perhaps the tradition records the existence of these merchant princes who possessed all sorts of jurisdiction in their territory.

Now it is easy for us to picture to our mind the history of Kēraḷa of this period. The Vēṇāḍu princes were ruling perhaps with Trivandram as their capital, but Kollam was their chief sea-port. Merchants from foreign countries such as Arabia, Egypt and Europe came annually with the beginning of the monsoons to purchase the world-famous spices of Malabar and as the favourable wind set in they started out for their native countries. No one made a permanent stay in Malabar. To push on trade briskly enough, one of these merchants, by name Maruvān Sapīr Iśō, either of his own accord or at the request of the Vēṇāḍu king, resolved to settle down at Kollam. The necessary permission to remain in Kollam was sought from the local king of Vēṇāḍu who in the interest of the maritime trade, gladly conceded the request of Sapīr Īśō. At once, Īśō set about building factories and warehouses and residential quarters for himself and his followers and perhaps also improved the harbour at Kollam. The extension of the city of Kollam and the increase in its commercial prosperity attracted people from all other places in the kingdom and thus made Kollam very populous. Even the Vēṇāḍu prince erected for himself a palace at Kollam and began to reside in it very often.

After every business pertaining to trade was settled, Īśō resolved upon the construction of a place of worship for himself and his Christian followers, for which permission was obtained easily from the king and the Tarisāppaḷḷi came into existence. Then there was dearth for men of various professions whose services the Christians were badly in need of. The Vēṇāḍu prince persuaded some families of various castemen to settle in the territory of the Christians and render them service, for which certain concessions were shown to them, which their fellow castemen did not enjoy. Some of these, by long contact with the Christians became converted to Christianity, while others remained Hindus and served the Christians; for doing this they were looked upon as inferior in social status. In gratitude to the efforts of Maruvān Sapīr Īśō in enriching his country by foreign trade, Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi granted to the Christians and the Hindus under their jurisdiction a number of *viḍupēṟus* and *aṭṭippēṟus*. The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam received the *kārāṇmai* of the whole of the city of Kollam.

The busy traders of the foreign country began to reckon their dates from the date of their settlement in Malabar and this, in all probability, became the Kollam era or the era of the founding the city of Kollam. This era might have been later on adopted by the people of Malabar as their ow either because of the mandate of the king desiring them to adopt it or adopted by themselves on account of its usefulness. The era came into vogue with the people of Kollam and its neighbourhood one month earlier than among the Malayāḷis of the north Malabar,—a fact which clearly evidences two things, namely, firstly, that the era commemorated nothing religious or national; if it were based upon religion etc., the first day of the year should be the same for all Malabar; for instance, Ōṇam, their national festival is observed by all Malayāḷis on the same day, as it is based upon religion. Secondly, it took the northern Malayāḷis nearly a month in adopting the era after the people of Kollam. The delay was perhaps due to the delay in transit of the king's order to that part of his kingdom (or of his overlord).

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From this time forwards the artizans and others given to the foreigners for their help came to be known by the name of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam. (Has Maṇigrāmam anything to do with *maṇiyakāran*, a supervisor?). Help in the shape of men to the foreign merchant, Joseph Rabban (1) was given at a later period by Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, (*Añjuvaṇṇam kuḍuttōm*) ; at a still later time, Vīrarāghava Chakravartti granted to the merchant Iravi Korttan similar help (*Maṇigrāmappaṭṭaṅ-kuḍuttōm*) (2). It is therefore not an honour or distinction as is made out by the earlier editors of the documents. The same cause, namely, the attraction for the trade of Malabar, having existed always, in later times it made the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English to settle down in India for their trade.

## Text.(3)

*First Plate : Second Side.*

1. இரண்டுகுடி[சி]...[ரு]வியரும்(4) ஒருகுடிதச்சரும்[ப*]ள்ளி[ப்]பூமி(ய்)க்கு
   காரா(5)-
2. ழர் னலுகுடி(6) வெள்ளாளரும் இவ்வனைவரு[ம்*] தேவர்க்கு நடுவன(7) ந-
3. ட்டு இடுவன இட்டு பள்ளிக்கு எண்ணைக்கும்மற்றும் வே-
4. ண்டுஞ்(ங்)கடங்குற(றை)வு(8) வாராதே(ய்) செய்யக்கடவராக சமைச்சு இ-
5. ந்நகரம் கண்டு நீரேற்ற மருவான் வஷீரீமோ செய்விச்சு(ச) தரி-
6. ஷ்ராப்பள்ளிக்கு குடுத்த ஊரியாவது [ா*] கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வி-
7. யராகண(த்)தேவர் உட்ப...(9) ருந்தருளிப் பிடிநடத்தி நீர்த்துள்ளியோடு கூ-
8. ட அய்ய.....(10)[ள்] திருவடியும் இளங்கூறுவாழின்ற ராஉதிரு-
9. வடியும் அ...(11) காரரும் ஆகூதியும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புன்னைத்தலைப்-
10. பதியும் பூ[ஸ]க்குடிப்பதியும் உள்ப்படவச்சு இப்பூமிக்கெ-
11. ல்லை [ா*] கிழக்கு வயல்க்காடேயெல்லையாகவுங் காயிலுமுட்படத் தெ-

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(1) The Joseph Rabbān of the Cochin plates need not be Rabbi Joseph, a Jew. The word Rabbān may be considered as another form of Rambān, the name applied to those Christian priests who aspire to the position of a bishop and who in Russia are either widowers or unmarried men, and in Malabar only unmarried men. The donee of the so-called Jewish deed may as well be a Christian.

(2) In this instance, the 'headship of Maṇigrāmam' was granted to Iravi Korttan, a name which is distinctly Hindu and suits my interpretation of the name Maṇigrāmam as a Hindu colony under the jurisdiction of the Christians.

(3) From paper impressions prepared under my supervision.

(4) Dr. Gundert reads this as நீருடி or வீருயரும் neither of which makes any meaning. He reads this passage as ஒ (or இ)ருகுடிதச்சருமளடை (or வை)ய பூமிய்க்கு காராழர்...

(5) Read காராளர்.

(6) Read நாலுகுடி.

(7) Gundert reads நடுவன and இடுவன as நடுவன் and இடுவன் which give no sense.

(8) Gundert's reading here is மற்றும் வேண்டுஞ் சடங்கு ; he thinks that after சடங்கு one or two கு seem to be wanting.

(9) Read உட்பட இருந்தருளி.

(10) Read அய்யனடிகள் திருவடியும்.

(11) Read அதிகாரரும்.

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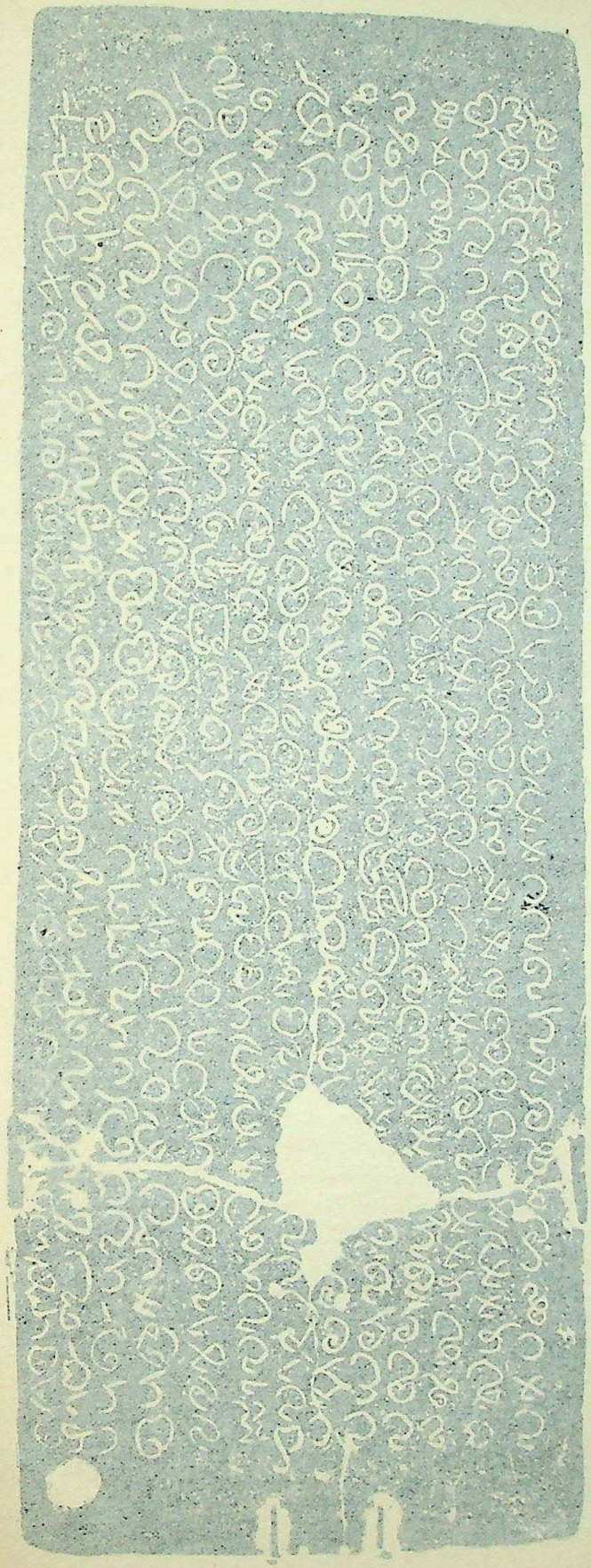

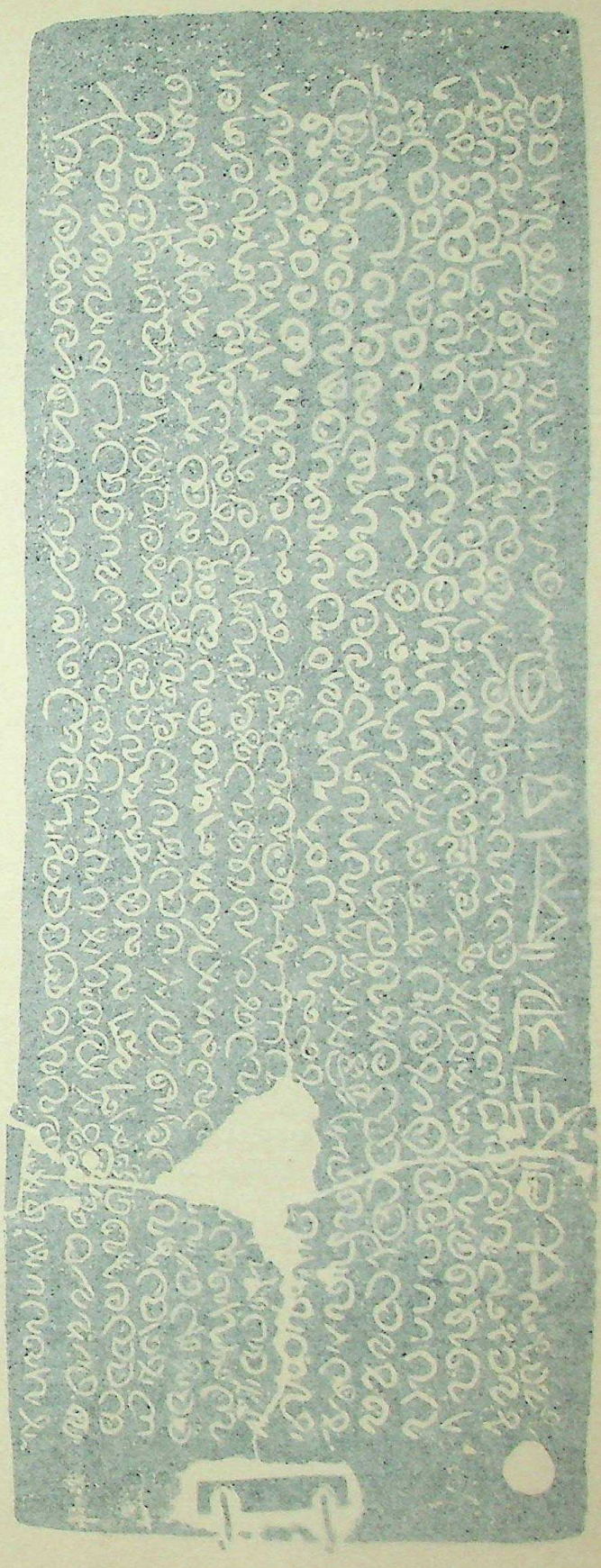

KOTTAYAM PLATES OF STHANU RAVI, No. II.

Half-Tone by Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

S. A. Gopinatha Rao.

SCALE: SAME SIZE.

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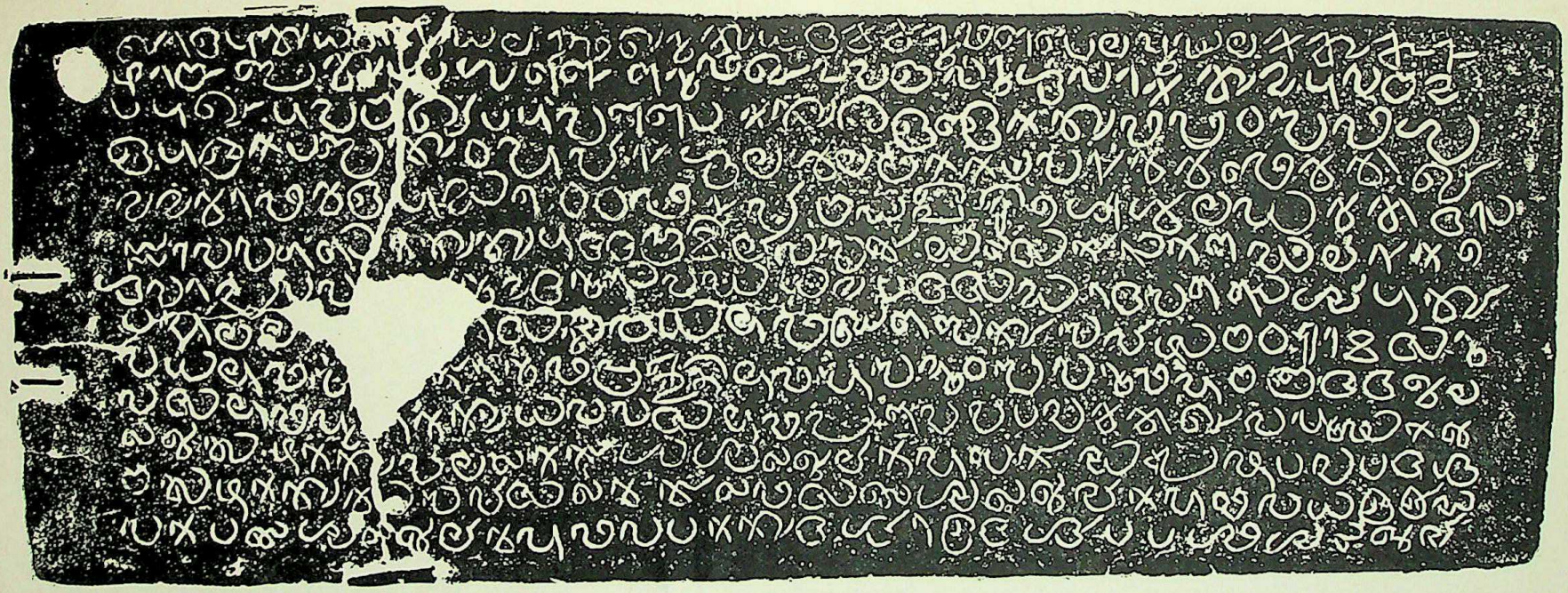

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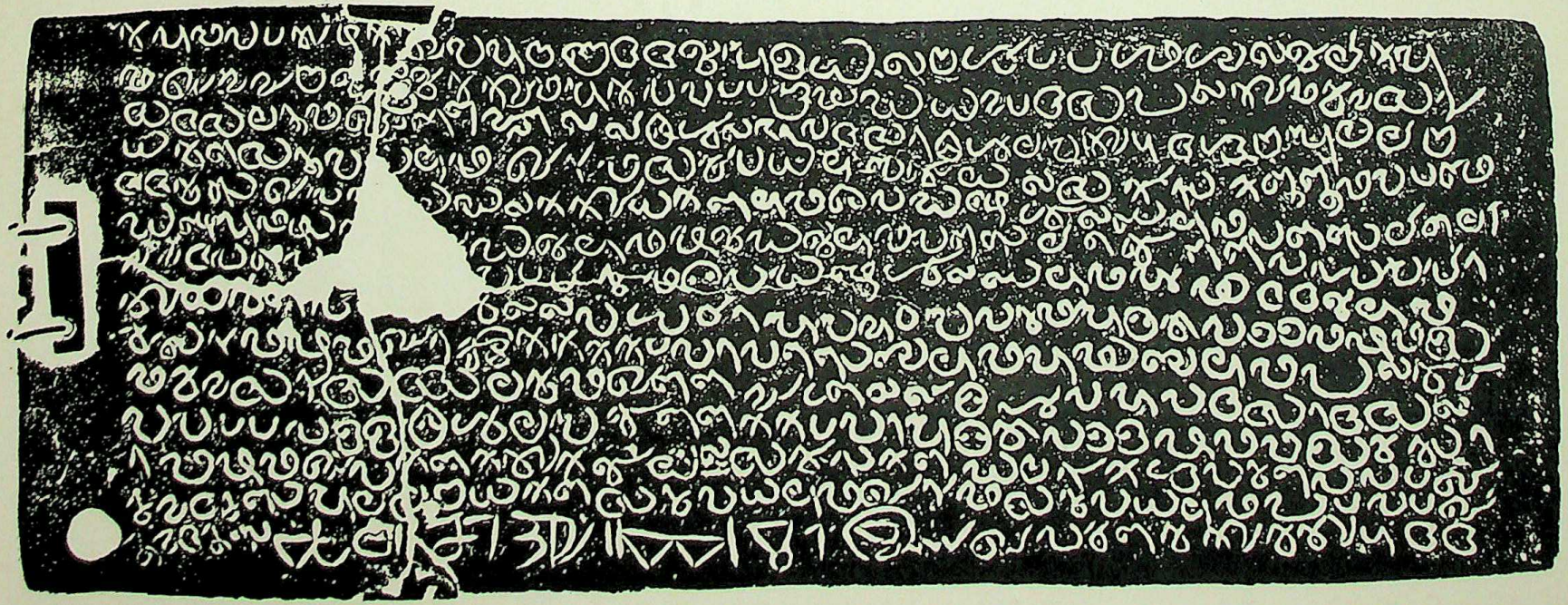

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE: SAME SIZE. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

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12. ன் கிழக்கு சிறுவாதில்க்கால் மதிலேயெல்லையாகவும் படிஞ்ஞாயி-
13. று கடலேயெல்லையாகவும் வடக்குத் தோரணத்தோட்டமேயெல்லையா-

*First Plate: Second Side.*

14. கவும் வடகிழக்குப் புன்னைத்தலை அண்டிலன்தோட்டமே யெல்லையாகவு-
15. ம் இந்நான்கெல்லைக்கும் அகப்பட்ட ஊமிபிடிநடத்தி உலகுய் சந்திரா-
16. தித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்லாஞ்செலவுபத்திரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்தேன் அய்-ய(ர)ன-
17. டிகள் திருவ[டி]யும் இராமதிருவடியுங் கோயிலதிகாரிகளு(ஞ)ம்படமை-(1)
18. த்தருளி இப்[பூ]மியில்க் கூ(கு)டிகள(ளை)யும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பள்ளி-யாரே(ய்) [ஈ]-
19. பிழையுமழி.....(2) விலையும் முலைவிலையும் பள்ளியாரே கொள்ளப்பெறு-வார் [॥*]
20. நந்தமரெப்.....(3) பட்டாரும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பூமித்தலையும்
21. குடிகள்ப.....(4) [தெ]ச[ர]ல்லப்பெரூர் [॥*] அறுநூற்றுவரும் அஞ்சுவண்-ணம்மூமணி-
22. க்கிராமமும் இரகூடிக்கக்கடவர் [॥*] பள்ளியையும் பு(பூ)மியையும் உலகு(கு)-
23. ம் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்லாம்ஞ் செலவு பத்திரத்தில்-
24. ப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்துகொள்ளக் கடவர் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிர-
25. ர(ர)மமும் [॥*] இவள்க்குக் கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வியாகதேவருள்பட இ-
26. ருந்தருளி அய்யனடிகள்திருவடியும் இராமதிருவடியும் உட்பட இ-
27. ருந்தருளி (here occur some letters in what appears to be Nāgari alphabet, perhaps the signature of the donors) இவகள்க்குக்(5) குடுத்த

*Second Plate: First Side.*

28. [வி]டுபேரூவது [।*] அறுபதி (லொ)ன்றுல்குங்கள்வரத்...(6) லுல்கில்லையாக-வும் [।*] அழிவு-
29. ல்கில்லையாகவும் [।*] இவகள் கொள்ளும் அடிமைக்கு ஆள்க்காசு கொள்ளப்-பெரூரா-
30. கவும் [।*] வாயினம் வருமதில் வரத்திலும் போக்கிலும் எட்டு[கா]சு கொள்-ளக்கடவா-
31. ராகவும் [।*] வெடியிலும் படகிலும் போக்கிலும் வரத்திலுங்காலுகாசு கொள்ள-

(1) Gundert reads this passage thus: "கோயிலதிகாரிகளுளும்பட (evidently a mistake of the writer for ளுமுள்பட) மை (or வை) த்தருளி."

(2) Gundert supplies the blank thus: "பிழையுமழிவும் தலைவிலையும்."

(3) Read நந்தமரெப்பேர்ப்பட்டாரும்.

(4) Gundert supplies the blank thus: குடிகள்பாடுஞ்சொல்ல.

(5) This இவகள்க்கு is redundant.

(6) Read வரத்திலு°.

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32. க்கடவராகவும் [1*] உல்கு(கூ)ட்டுஞ்சரக்கு இவகளுகூடவச்சு உல்குவிடுப்ப-
தாகவு-
33. ம்[1*] சரக்குமி(வி)லையிடுமிடத்தும் மற்றுமே வ்ளாமிகாரியம்(1) எக்காரியமும்
34. இவகளுக்கூட்டியே செய்வதாகவும்[1*] அன்றன்று படுமுல்கு அஞ்சுவண்ணை-
மும்
35. மணிக்கிராமமும் இலக்கிச்சு வைப்பதாகவும் [1*] நாலுவாதிலகத்து-
36. ம் விலக்கும் பூமியாக காராண்மைக் கொடுக்குமெடத்துங் கோப்பதவாரங்-
37. கோயில் கொண்டு பதிப்பதவாரம் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமு-
38. ங் கொள்வதாக [1*] இவகள்க்கு மங்கலத்துக்கு(2) ஆனமேல் மண்ணுநீர்
முத-
39. லாக எழுபத்திரண்டு விடுபேறும் வச்சுக்குடுத்தார் கோயிலதி-
40. காரிகள் வியராகதேவர் உள்ப்பட இருந்தருளி அய்யனடி-
41. கள் திருவடியும் ஈசதிருவடியும் ஆகதியும் அதி-

*Second Plate: Second Side.*

42. காரரும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புன்னைத்தலைபதியும் பூளைக்குடிப்ப-
43. தியும் உள்ப்படவைத்து உலகும் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ள நாளெல்லா-
44. ம் இவ்வட்டிப்பேறெல்லாஞ் செப்புபத்திரத்தில்ப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்து-
45. கொள்ளப்பெறுவர் [1*] அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும் இவகள்க்கு
46. அன்னியாம்மொண்டாயில் உல்குதுலாக்கூலிதடுத்துந் தங்ஙள் அன்ஞாயா-
யந்(3) தீர்-
47. த்துகொள்ளக்கடவா[1*] தங்கள் செய்யும் பிழையுண்டாகிற்றங்களைக்-
கொண்டே யாராஞ்ஞ-
48. கொள்ளக் கடவராகவுமிந் நகரத்துக்குக் காராளராக நீரேற்றூர் அஞ்சுவண்-
ணமு-
49. ம் மணிக்கிராமமும் [1*] இவருளிரண்டு தலையாருங் கூடிச் செய்வதே க-
50. ருமமாகவு [1*] மிந்நகரங்கண்டு நீரேற்றவருமான வஷீரீ[தீ]ஸா மூன்-
னம் பள்ளி-
51. யார் பெற்றுடைய பார்க்கோலு[ம்] பஞ்சகண்டியும் ம[னெ]வான்(4)
வஷீரீ[தீ]ஸா ெ[ந]-
52. றுத்து(5) நிறைக்கூலி பள்ளிக்கு குடுக்கக்கடவர் [1*] இதுவும் அட்டிப்-
53. பேறுகக் குடுத்தேன் உலகுஞ் சஞ்(ந்)திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்ல[ா*]-
ம்[11*]
54. (The same writing as is found in line 27 occurs in this line also.)

(To be continued.)

(1) Gundert's reading is ஸாகிகாரியம்.
(2) Gundert reads this as மங்கலத்துக்கு.
(3) Read அன்னியாயம்.
(4) Read மருவான்.
(5) Read நிறுத்து.

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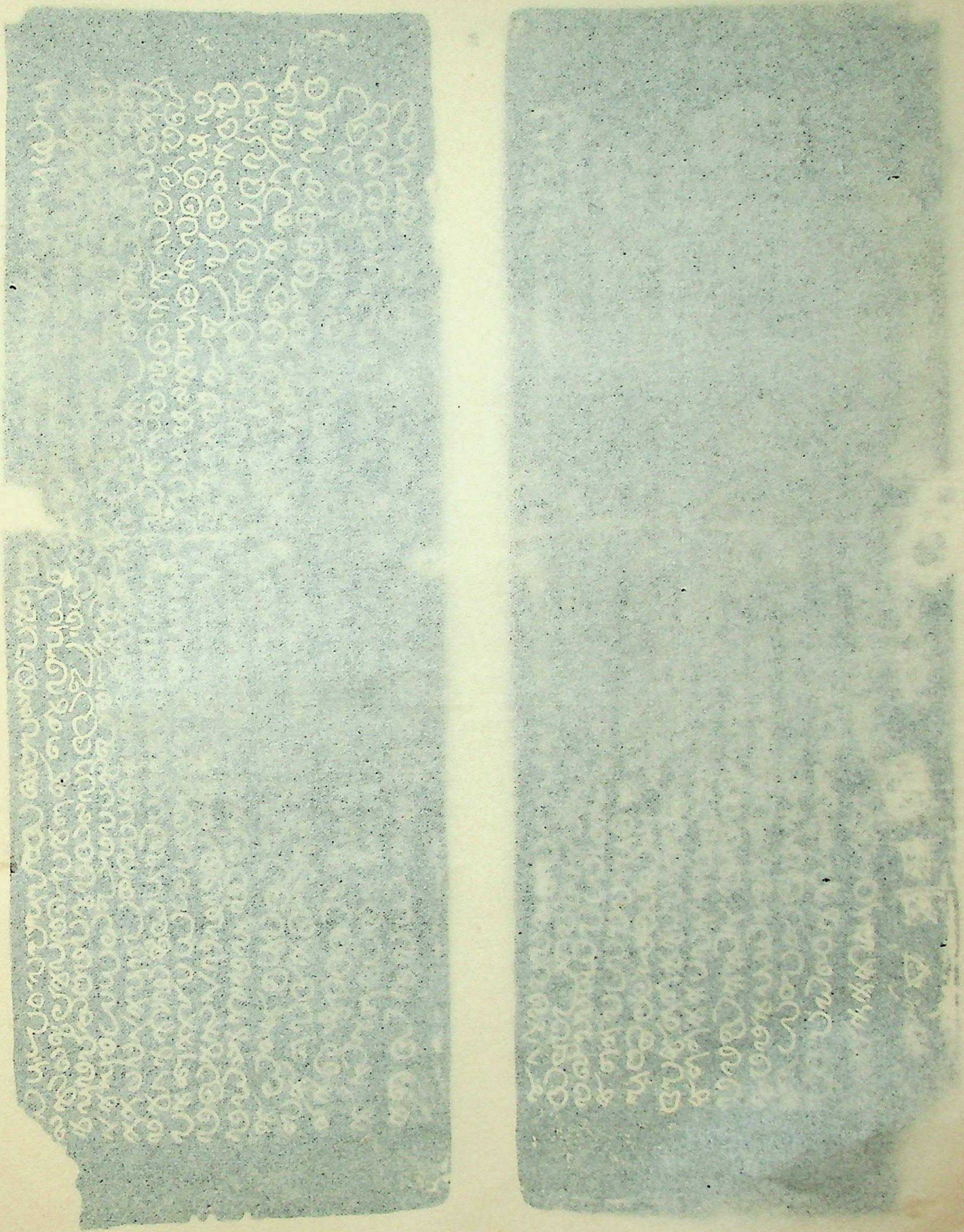

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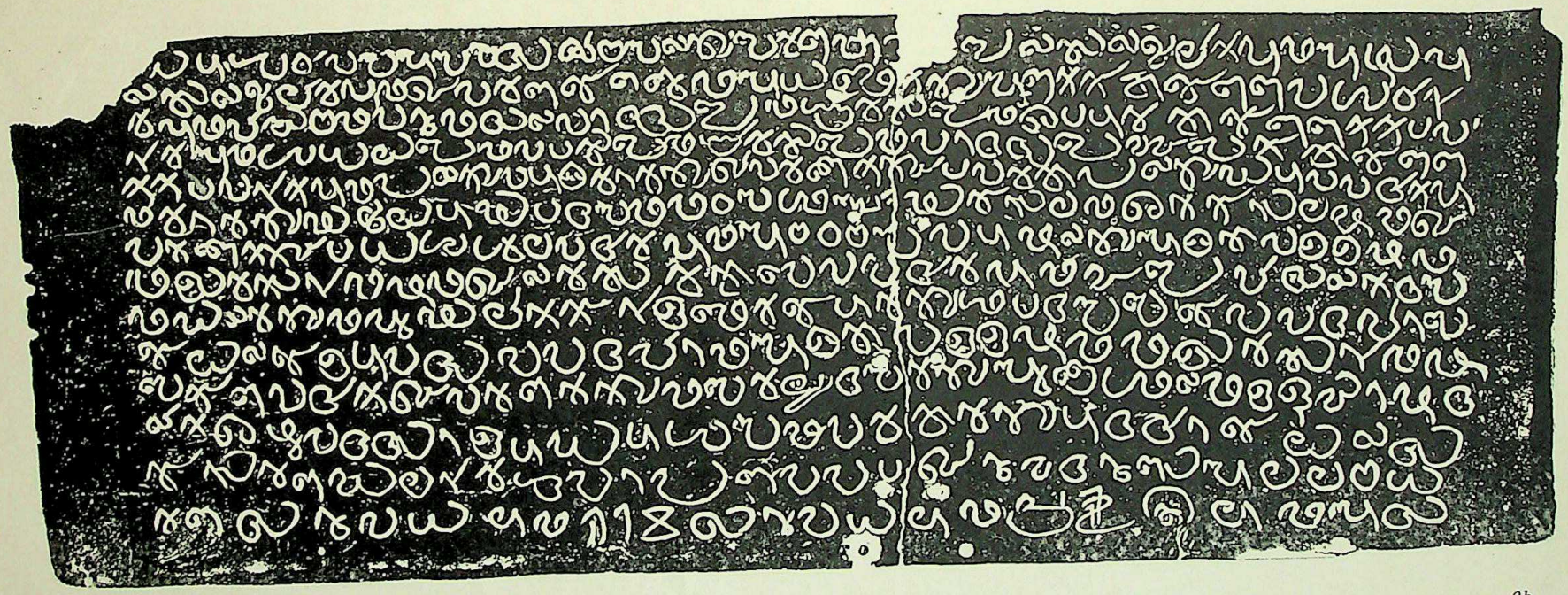

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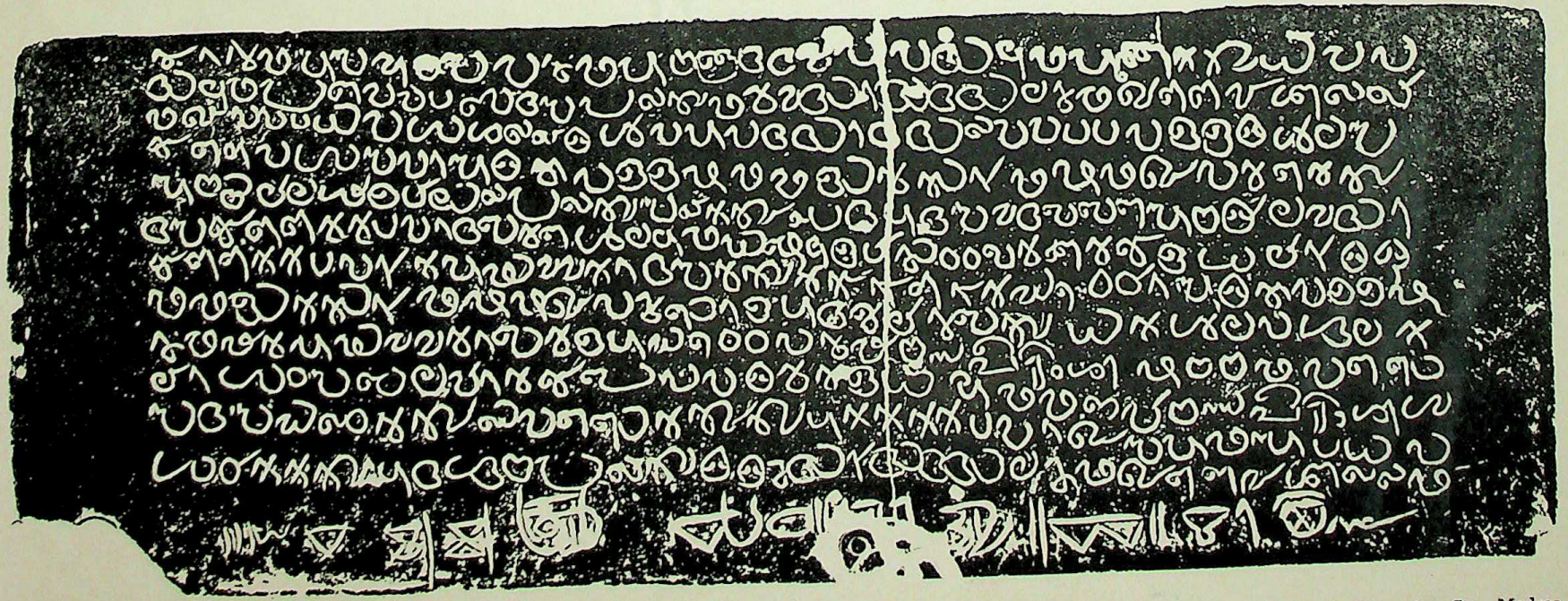

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## Translation.

Lines 1-6. ..... two families of ..... one family of carpenters and four families of Veḷḷāḷars to till the soil, all these have been ordained to sow (all seeds) and plant (all trees) as they did for the king, so that there might be no failure in the supplies, such as oil, for the Church (1). The land which was granted to the Tarisāppaḷḷi erected by Maruvân Sapîr Îśō, (who founded the city of Kollam) and received water (in token of many *viḍupēṟus* being granted to him) is (what is going to be described below) :—

Lines 7-11. The land had its boundary marked by the performance of the ceremony of circumambulating a female elephant under the supervision of the *kōyiladhikāri*, Viyarāgattēvar and others and (granted) by the pouring of water drops by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the smaller division (of Vēṇāḍu or was the *yuvarāja*) in the presence of the *adikārar*, the *prakritiyār*, the Six-hundred, the Puṉṉaittalipati and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati.

Lines 11-15. The boundaries of the land are :— The cultivated land (*vayal-kkāḍu*) being the eastern boundary ; the fort-wall having a small gate in it, including the *kāyil* (=*kāyal*=back-waters) being the south-eastern boundary ; the *tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam* being the northern boundary and the garden of Aṇḍilaṉ of the Puṉṉaittalai house being the north-eastern boundary (2).

Lines 15-18. (We) Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍigaḷ and Rāma Tiruvaḍigaḷ, together with the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* have granted the land enclosed within these four boundaries which were fixed by the circuiting of a female elephant (3) and given this deed, so that it may be in force as long as the world, the moon and the sun last.

Lines 18-22. If the inhabitants residing in this portion of land commit any mistakes, the Church authorities shall receive the fines levied on the delinquents, as also the *talai-vilai* and the *mulai-vilai*. None of our relatives (or dependants) shall charge them with any mistakes, nor shall they say.... *bhūmittalai* and the tenants, the six-hundred, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall protect (4).

Lines 22-25. The Añjuvaṇṇam people and the Maṇigramam people shall do for the Church and the land belonging to it everything according to the contents of the deed, as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last (5).

Lines 25-28. The *viḍupēṟu* granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi together with Rāma Tiruvaḍi and the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* are :—(Here occur some letters in some sort of Nāgari, which appear to be signatures of the donors).

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(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " The latter being (*Veḷḷāḷar*) *Cārāḷar* of the Alave (or *Aladeiya*) land, that all these may do their duty to the god, the planter by planting (rice etc.), the setter by setting (trees or by building, offering ?) ".

(2) The following is the translation of the passage by Dr. Gundert : " The garden of the unapproachable of Puṉṉaittalai ".

(3) Dr. Gundert overlooks the word *piḍinaḍatti* in his translation which runs as follows :— " Decreed with the sanction of the Palace-major Vyarākadēvar and power given with (the ceremony of) waterdrops for seizing and possessing.....".

(4) If translated in this manner we do not know what it is that these three bodies are required to protect. The passage may also be translated thus : The six-hundred should protect the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (communities).

(5) The construction of the sentence is here very faulty. பள்ளியையும் பூமியையும் ought to be understood perhaps as பள்ளிவிஷயத்திலும் பூமிவிஷயத்திலும் and rendered into English as in the matter of their duties to the Church and the land.

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Lines 28-29. The customs duty of one in sixty on toddy (?) shall not be levied when it is in-coming and no duty when it is consumed.

Lines 29-30. No one shall levy poll-tax upon those whom these people take as their slaves.

Lines 30-32. In the case of *vāyinam* (merchandise ?), they shall collect eight *kāśus* on it when it is in-coming and out-going, (that is, when it is taken, for instance, into the warehouse after its collection and goes out of it when it is sold or despatched to other countries) ; they shall collect (similarly) four *kāśus* when it comes in *veḍi* (or *peḍi* ?) and in boats.

Lines 32-35. The levying of customs on dutiable articles should be done only in their presence (1). (Similarly) the apprising of articles and all other business of the lord (the king) shall be done in company with these people (2). The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall take care of the customs collected every day.

Lines 35-38. When such of those lands within the four gates (of the fort) are set apart as not wanted (for the use of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and is therefore given on the *kārāṇmai* tenure, the palace (agents) shall collect the *kōppadavāram* and the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall collect the *patippadavāram*.

Lines 38-45. While the *kōyiladhikāri* was also present, Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, together with the *prakṛiti*, the *adhikārar*, the six-hundred, the Puṇṇaittalaippati and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati, granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people) seventy-two *viḍupēṟus* beginning with the (right of) carrying earth and water on the back of the elephant on auspicious or marriage occasions (3), for all time the earth, the moon and the sun last and they (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) have a right to enjoy these *aṭṭippēṟus* in the manner detailed in the copper (plate) deed.

Lines 45-48. If the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people have any misgivings (or injustice) done to them by others (or they against others) they shall settle these by stopping (the collection and payment of) the customs duty and the duty on weighment (of articles of merchandize) till the aggrandisers come to terms. If (however) there are mistakes committed (by some) among themselves, such mistakes shall be enquired into by themselves (4).

---

(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " Merchandize belonging to the citizens of the above (the *palḷiyār* ? or the protecting lords ").

(2) The passage beginning with சாக்கு விலையிடமிடத்து, etc. is translated by him thus :— ' (that in the space within the four gates or in the four public offices ?) and on the spot where land for sale (or under prohibition) is given in trust."

(3) ஆனைமேல் மண்ணுநீரும் is rendered by him thus :— (*viḍupēru* such as) the elephants' back, the earth, the water etc., (or earth and water on the elephant)—at all events marks of nobility.

(4) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus :—

" If any injustice is done to these (the *palḷiyār* ? or Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam ?) they may withhold the tribute (' world-bearing hire ') and remedy themselves the injury done them. Should they themselves commit a crime they are themselves to have the investigation of it. And let whatever the two chieftains in Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam who have taken the water (possession) as trustee for this town (*kārāḷar* may do in unison be counted for one act—And let Maruvān Sapīr Īśō who took the water for this town, since he acquired (or transferred ? *peruttu*) the share-staff *vārakkōl*) and the five pieces (of Añjacaṇḍi) which formerly were the property of the Palḷiyār pay for it the full price for the church".

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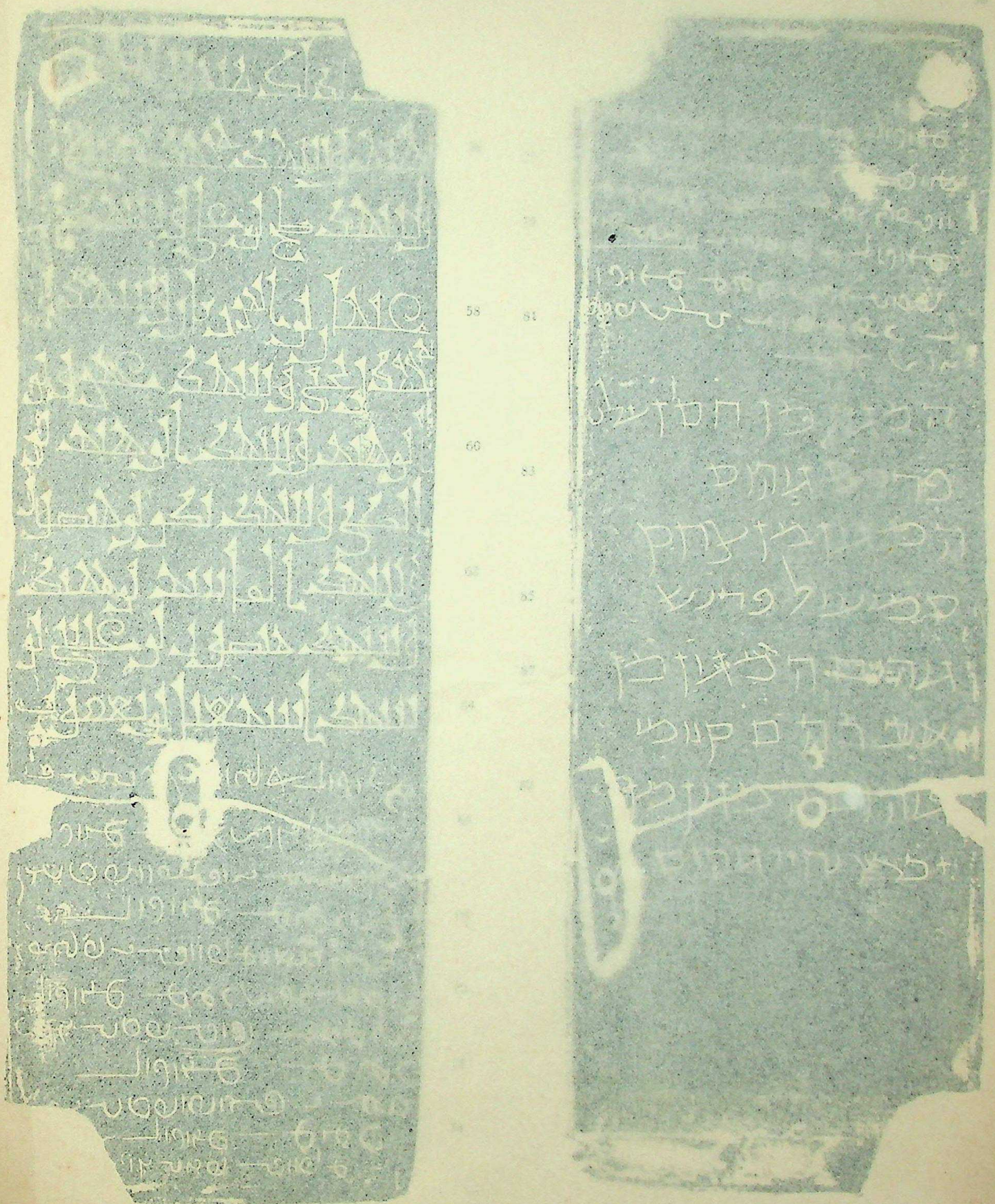
KOTTAYAM PLATES OF STHANU RAVI



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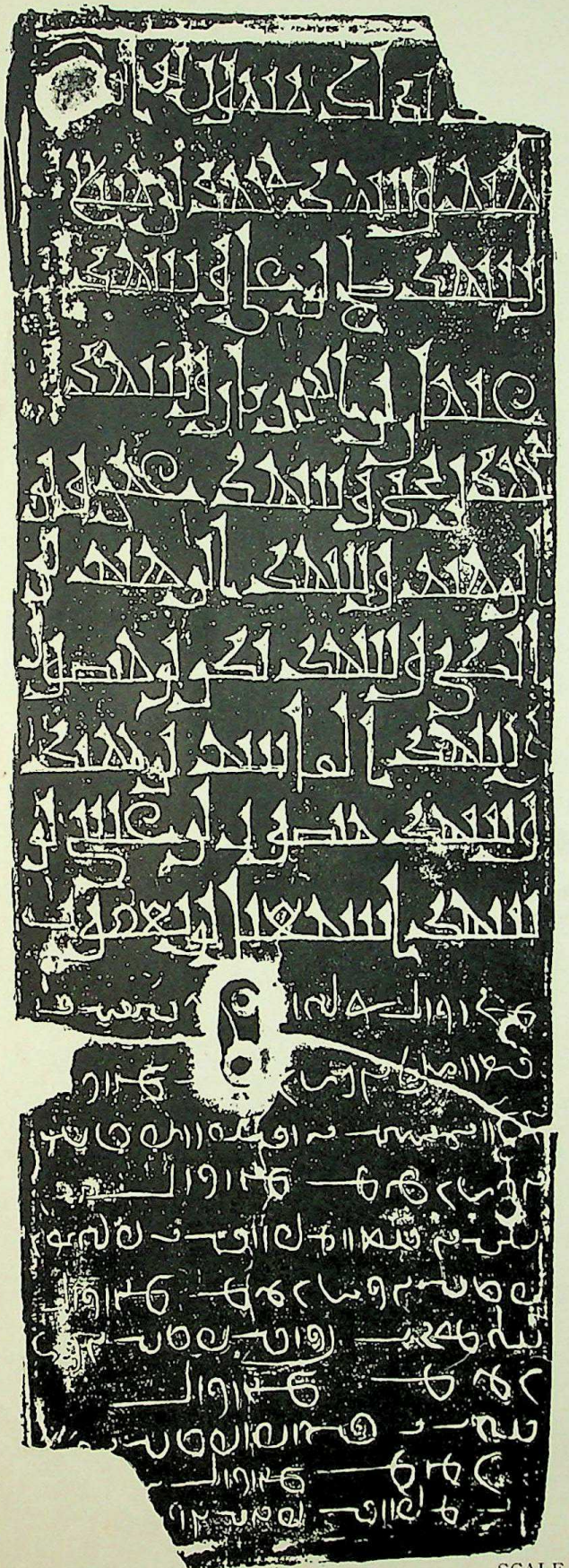
3a



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Lines 48-54. Whatever arrangements these two bodies, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people, who have received (the perpetual lease of) the *kūrāṇmai* of this city (Kollam), do shall be considered to be the proper ones. And Maruvān Sapir Īśō who founded this city and received the water (poured into his hands in token of the receipt of the *aṭṭippēṟus* and *viḍupēṟus*) shall collect duty upon all articles which are weighed and make over the collection to the Church by virtue of his acceptance, on behalf of the Church people, the *pārkkōl* and the *pañchakkaṇḍi*. This also, I, (Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi), granted as an *aṭṭippēru* to last as long as the earth, the moon and the sun. (Once again the signatures of the donees mentioned in line 27 occur in the line 54 also).

(To be continued).

## No. III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on two sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mūviḍattu-mēṟ-chēri Illam at Tiruvallā; the Vaṭṭeluttu characters employed in this document are similar to those of No. II above. The writing is executed in a very slovenly manner and a large number of errors have consequently been allowed to creep in. The preservation of the record is good.

It belongs to the **seventeenth year** of the reign of the king **Tānu Iravi (Sthānu Ravi)**. Nothing beyond the bare regnal year is given and it is therefore not possible to fix his age from this record also. The document contains the arrangements made by the *sabhā* of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and the *aḍigaḷ* (perhaps the temple servants) regarding the feeding that should be conducted on the Ōṇam day in the month of Āvaṇi, for which one Śēndan Śaṅkaran of Puṉśey-ppaḍagāram gave certain lands.

The names of places that occur in this document are Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and Puṉśey-ppaḍagaram. Of these the former is the name of a suburb of Tiruvallā in which is situated the Śiva temple of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy; it is not possible to identify the latter.

### Text.(1)

*First Side.*

ஸ்ரீ

1. கோத்தாணு இரவிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டுபதினேழு [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு திருவாற்றுவாய் ஸஹெயு மடிகள்மாருமவிரோதத்தால்க் கூடிச் செ-

2. ய்த கச்சம் [।*] புன்சைப்படகாரத்து சேந்தஞ்சங்கரன் ஆவணியோணமடுவான் கொடுத்த பு(பூ)மி [।*] சேந்நஞ்சேந்நனூர்கரி பதின்கலம்(2) [।*] காடேறு-

3. ஐந்நூற்று நாழியும் [।*] இவைகொண்டு ஊர்மறையால் ஓணமடக்கட[வ*]ர்[।*] ஊட்டம் முட்டிகுவரார்(3) ஐம்பத்து[நாலு] காணங் பொன்பழங்காயுனெடு

4. ஒப்பது [।*] இ தண்டமிட்டு ஊட்டுமடக்கடவர் [।*] இரண்டும் செ[ய்*]-யாதொழிகில் அவர் அவிரெ[ப]ருகா(4) [।*] ஊட்டு பரிசு அடமித்துடவி-னு[ல்](5) ஒரு-

(1) From inked impressions prepared under my supervision.

(2) Read கலமும்.

(3) Read முட்டிக்குமவர்.

(4) Read .....பெருர்.

(5) Perhaps அமிடத்துத்துடவினுல்.

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अनुपमगुणरूपा नन्दिनीत्यस्ति काचि-
द्वयसि शिथिलबाल्ये वर्तमानाऽस्य कन्या ।
चिरपरिचयशीलप्रेमबन्धात्सलेशं
स्वयमिव रिपुहस्तादागता राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-१०)

श्रियमति.....युक्तां लक्षणैर्जन्मयोगै-
रपि जगति दुरापैरात्मनस्सूचयन्ती ।
परिणयविधियोगे साभविष्यत्यलं ते
प्रतिहतिरहिताया जन्मभूमिःप्रजायाः ॥ (१२-११)

इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य श्रेयसी[म*]र्थबन्धो-
रपि गलितसमृद्धिश्चेदिवंश्योन्नतस्य ।
पटुसचिवमुखेन श्लाघनीयान्वयस्ता-
मवृणुत वरकन्यामादरान्मूषिकेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१२)

अथ जलधिरिवैनामम्बुजाक्षाय लक्ष्मीं
सुरभिरिव समृद्धिं कौसुमीं पार्थिवाय ।
भृशतरपरितोषं प्रादिशद् भूमिभर्त्रे
सकलजनमनोज्ञां चेदिराजस्स्वकन्याम् ॥ (१२-१३)

प्रहितविपुलदण्डाः प्राभृताधानतुष्टै-
रुपहितबलवाह्यस्तस्य सामान्तमुख्यैः ।
अघटयदतिदूरभ्रष्टया राज्यलक्ष्म्या
पुनरपि गुरुशक्तिं चेदिपं हेहयेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१४)

स्वभुवमभिजिगीषु[म्*] र्मूषिकेन्द्रो बलौघैः
सरथगजतुरङ्गैस्सार्धमृद्धानुभावम् ।
चलितमचलितश्रीः केरलेन्द्रं पुरा स्वा-
त्पुरमथनसमानस्सोऽथ शुश्राव तावत् ॥ (१२-१५)

सन्निशम्य सरुषस्तमुदन्तं भूपतेर्मुखरिताद्रिगुहेन ।
तस्य यानपटहेन गभीरं दध्वने कनककोणहतेन ॥ (१२-१६)

गन्धसिन्धुरघटाकृतभास्वत्सेतुबन्धसुखलङ्घितसिन्धुः ।
तं तमुद्धरबलस्सधराया देशमाशु समलङ्घयदीशः (१२.१६)

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यानदुन्दुभिरवध्वनिताशं वाहिनीभरणनामितभूमिः ।
रेणुजालपिहितान्तरमुच्चैरासदत् सरितं सपरुष्णीम् ॥ (१२-२७)

तामतीत्य सरितं निकषासौ सन्निवेशमकरोत्पृतनायाः ।
बद्धकुञ्जरतुरङ्गमुदञ्चत्केतुमुत्पटकुटीरमुदारम् ॥ (१२-२९)

केरलेन्द्रमपरेद्युरुपेतं शुश्रुवानथ रणोत्सवहेतोः ।
आहवाय समनाहयदुच्चैर्वाहिनीमहितलोककृतान्तः ॥ (१२-३०)

वाहिनी रघुपतेरपि चैवं सन्ननाह सहसाऽऽहवहेतोः ।
दुर्जयारिजयलंपटचित्ता दुश्श्रवप्रतिबलानकशब्दा ॥ (१२-३४)

ते परस्परसमेतपदातिस्यन्दने हयहयादिसमूहे ।
उद्यतायुधभुजे पृतने द्वे संप्रहर्तुमभिसंववृतीते ॥ (१२-३५)

दुर्विलङ्घ्यमितरेतरधाम्ना तन्निशान्धयुगलध्वजपत्योः ।
केरलेन्द्रपृतनामथबाणैर्विध्यतिस्म कुपितो रणमानी ॥ १२-४९

भिद्यमानममुना विशिखौघैस्संविलोक्य बलमाकुलयोधम् ।
प्रत्यविध्यदरिसैन्यमसङ्ख्यैः पत्त्रिभिः प्रकुपितो जयरागः ॥ (१२-५०)

तावुभाविति परस्परहेतित्रातपातविरलीकृतसैन्यौ ।
द्वन्द्वयुद्धमतिमानुषसत्वौ कर्तुमाहितमती समभूताम् ॥ (१२-५२)

जृम्भिताम्बुनिधिविभ्रमभाजोर्मध्य एव पितृमातुलयोस्सः ।
सेतुबन्ध इव केरलकेतुः प्रत्यदृश्यत तयोरथ गोदः ॥ (१२-५३)

अविरलशरवर्षावग्रहत्वं प्रपन्ने
नरपतितनयेऽस्मिन्संपरायान्निवृत्तौ ।
भुवनमवनिपालावन्धयत्यन्धकारे
सपदि बलनिवेशं स्वं स्वमेतावयाताम् ॥ (१२-५५)

तावन्येद्युस्समरसुलभज्याकिणाकल्पभाजौ
शौर्याधारौ प्रकृतिवचनात्सङ्गतौ बन्धुभूतौ ।
शान्तद्वेषौ पुनरुपचितप्रेमभारौ नरेन्द्रौ
लज्जां युद्धस्मरणजनितां सन्दधाते मुहूर्तम् ॥ (१२-५६)

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भूयः प्राप्य प्रमुदितमनास्त्यालमाहूय कोलं
पृथ्वीपालः पुनरनुपमो लोकपालोपमानम् ।
संपन्नाभिर्गुरुतरमुदं सत्क्रियाभिस्स चक्रे
नानारूपैर्जनपदजनैः प्राभृतैराहृतैश्च ॥ (१२-५७)

तत्रोषित्वा कतिचन निशा निर्गतैस्सोऽथ मार्गे
तैस्तैर्दैत्यैरुपहृतमहातिथ्यसत्कार एव ।
कृच्छ्रात्तेन स्वयमनुमतः स्नेहनिघ्नेन राज्ञां
प्राज्यैश्वर्यां सधृतिरविशत्स्वां पुरीं केरलेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-५८)

श्रियमकृतपराङ्गस्पर्शदोषां स पश्चात्
प्रभुरुचितमहिष्या निर्विशेषामशेषाम् ।
सुखमनुबुभुजे स्वां दीर्घबाहुस्सुदीर्घं
दिनमनुकृतशम्भुप्रीतिरीशानवर्मा ॥ (१२-५९)

प्रणयपरवशात्मा लालयन्प्रेयसीं तां
श्रियमिव पृथुहस्तादाहृतां दीर्घकालम् ।
प्रभवमिह सुखस्य श्रेयसोऽमुत्र चान्य-
द्धरणिपतिरपत्यं नाशु तस्यामविन्दत् ॥ (१२-६०)

व्यथितमतिरभावात्पुत्रलाभोत्सवस्य
श्लथितसकलभोगश्लाघनीयान्वयस्य ।
सुबहुभिरभिरामां स्वैर्गुणैर्मूषकाणां
पतिरथ परिणिन्ये कन्यकां चोलभर्तुः ॥ (१२-६१)

प्रथममथ नरेन्द्रः पश्चिमायां महिष्या-
मलभत नृपरामं सूनुमानन्दहेतुम् ।
निजविभवशिखायामुन्नतं कोमलायां
फलनिचयमिवोच्चैर्भूरुहः पारिजातः ॥ (१२-६२)

क्षितिचरदुरवापं रूपमम्भोधिसीमा
नृपविभवसमृद्धिस्तादृशं प्रेम भर्तुः ।
इति सकलमपार्थं साऽथ मत्वा स्वगत्या
चिरमभजत पादौ नन्दिनी चण्डिकायाः ॥ (१२-६३

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प्रमदकलितभक्तिव्यक्तरोमोद्गमाङ्गीं
स्वकरकिसलयेनोत्थापितां संस्पृशन्ती ।
वरमभिमतमाशु त्वं वृणीष्वेत्यथैना-
मतिगुरुकरुणार्द्रं वाक्यमार्या बभाषे ॥ (१२-६७)

प्रतिपदमियमस्मद्वंश्यनारीसुतानां
क्षितिरवनिपतीना[म*]म्ब भूयात्स्वराज्यम् ।
पुनरिति निगदन्ती साभवद्भक्तिपूर्वं
प्रणतजनशिवायाः पादमूलं शिवायाः ॥ (१२-६८)

प्रथितगुणमपत्यं संभविष्यत्यलं ते
क्षितिरपि च पुनस्त्री.....कृत्वास्तथैव ।
इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य प्रेयसीमम्बिकासौ
कृतफल इव पुण्ये भोगसंपत्तिरोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-६९)

प्रमदमथ विबुद्धा संविभज्य स्वभर्तृ-
गणमनतिचिरेण प्रीणयन्ती सखीनाम् ।
अलभत सुतमेकं नन्दिनी पालकाख्यं
दुहितरमपि कांचिददुःखविध्वस्तिहेतुम् ॥ (१२-७०)

करिकलभविलासं पालकं बालमेव
प्रियतरमभिरामैस्स्वैर्गुणैरप्यसुभ्यः ।
निकटमतिदिदृक्षोः प्रेषयामास धीर-
स्तनयमवनिपालस्तस्य मातामहस्य ॥ (१२-७१)

अथ निजभुजदण्डोपार्जितैरूर्जितश्री-
र्वसुभिरवनिपालस्तर्पयन्नर्थिवर्गम् ।
अतिबहुषु विमानेष्वग्रयायी बुधानां
स्वयमुपरचितेषु स्थापयामास शम्भुम् ॥ (१२-७२)

पितरि दिवमुपेते पालकश्चेदिसंस्थः
प्रकृतिभिरथ सद्यः प्रापितां राजलक्ष्मीम् ।
विपुलबलभुजोऽपि ज्येष्ठभावानुवृत्त्या
कथमपि नृपरामं रुद्धबुद्धिर्विषेहे ॥ (१२-७५)

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स च भुवमभिरक्षन्नक्षताज्ञो रिपूणां
उपगतमिव मृत्युर्गोचरं लोचनानाम् ।
..... ...
.....(११-७४)

प्रथितपृथुयशोभिर्विक्रमाक्रान्तविश्वैः
स्वकुलनृपतिमुख्यैस्तेजसा संभृतेन ।
अशिषदवनिमेनामस्थितारिष्टशल्यः
कतिपयमथ कालं चन्द्रवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-७७)

पितरि दिवमुपेते प्राग्दवीयः कनीय-
स्यखिलमलघु.....ग्नाजसा जीवलोकम् ।
प्रतनुरमृतभासस्सोऽपि कालेन बाल-
श्चरम इव कलांशो जग्रसे चन्द्रवर्मा ॥ (१२-७८)

प्रकृतिसचिवमुख्यैर्भर्त्तृनाशे विपक्ष-
प्रतिहतबलवीर्यैः कृच्छ्रतो धार्यमाणा ।
उडुविजयितमिस्रा नष्टचन्द्रेव रात्रिः
समभवदतिशोच्या मौषिकी राजलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-७९)

खलजनपरिभूतः कृष्टवर्त्माश्रमेऽस्मिन्
परिदिशमवरुद्धे मण्डले शत्रुसैन्यैः ।
प्रकृतिसचिववर्गः पालकाह्वानहेतो-
र्द्रुततरमतिचेदि प्रेषयामास दूतम् ॥ (१२-४०)

परिभवमरिवर्गैस्सन्निशम्य स्वभूमेः
स्फुटतरपरिकोपः कल्पितानल्पसैन्यः ।
प्रथितविपुलशक्तिर्निर्ययौ सोऽथ सद्यः
कृतपद इव मूर्धन्युद्धतः कृष्णसर्पः (१२-८१)

सपदि विहतभग्नाशेषविद्वेषिवर्गः
प्रकृतिसचिवजुष्टो वश्यसामन्तलोकः ।
समुचितमभिषेकं प्राप्य सम्यक् प्रजानां
अधिगतविपुलश्रीः पालकः पालकोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-८३)

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कृतवति पदमस्मिन्राज्ञि मृत्योः कटाक्षे
स्वसुरथ पृथुकीर्तिस्तस्य राज्ञस्तनूजः ।
अभवदभवहारी पूरिताशः प्रजानां
वलिधर इति तस्या वल्लभो राजलक्ष्म्याः ॥ (१२-९०)

पटुभिरिव दधाना भूतिनक्षत्रमेघैः
प्रथितरवपरीताशेषदिक्चक्रवाला ।
उपरि धरणिभर्तुस्तस्य तीव्रा कदाचित्
पुरजित इव गङ्गा प्रापतत् गाङ्गसेना ॥ (१२-९१)

पृथुतरमवतीर्णं वासरे जीर्णभानौ
धरणिपतिरसह्यं सह्यशैलाग्रभागात् ।
द्रुततरमभिपत्य प्रत्यनीकं प्रदोषे
वचन इव सपूगस्तूलपुञ्जं बभञ्ज ॥ (१२-९२)

परिचितबहुशस्त्रः पारगो दण्डनीतेः
प्रतिहतरिपुवीर्यः प्रत्यनीकःशठानाम् ।
भरतनहुषकीर्तिर्भागिनेयोऽस्य राज्ञः
श्रियमथ रिपुरामः श्रेयसीमभ्यगच्छत् ॥ (१२-९३)

व्रजति गतिममर्त्यामीश्वरेऽस्मिन् जगत्याः
सपदि.....तनुजन्मा जन्मभाजां पुरोगः ।
अभवदवनिचक्रं विक्रमोद्घातनामा
कृतमतिरथ रामस्सोमवंशप्रदीपः ॥

प्रथितमिह जनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-
न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।
पृथुचटुलतुरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातटान्तः
कबलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजजृम्भे ॥ (१२-९६)

सपदि च तमुदन्तं सन्निशम्यात्तकोपः
परिभवामिव शत्रोरात्मनोऽनन्तरस्य ।
प्रतिजलधि सदूरादुद्यतासिः प्रतस्थे
न खलु जगति धीरास्स्वस्य पश्यन्त्यभूमिम् ॥ (१२-९७)

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प्रलय इव गभीरध्वानमुल्लङ्घ्य वेला-
विसृतचटुलवीचेरुत्थितस्यार्णवस्य ।
तुलितजलदशल्कैस्तूर्णमाबध्य सेतुं
बलवदुपलभङ्गैः स्तम्भयामास वेगम् ॥ (१२-९८)

अथ मथितविपक्षः पक्षपाती गुणानां
शशधर इव भौमः कामिनीलोचनानाम् ।
प्रतिहतिरहिताङ्गं प्राज्ञसाधारणश्री-
रभजत जनमानी मौषिकीं राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१२-१०१)

पुरविजितमुदस्य क्ष्मापतौ जीवलोकं
मखविजितममुष्मिन्प्रस्थिते लोकमन्यम् ।
अभृत निभृतचेता मेदिनीमर्णवान्तां
प्रतिहतरिपुसङ्घोपक्रमश्शङ्खवर्मा ॥ (१२-१०२)

अथ वहति विभावभावमस्मि-
न्नृपमकुटाग्रविघट्टिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
पुनरपि जयमानिनामधेयः
पुनरवहन्नृपतिश्चिराय कोलम् ॥ (१२-१०३)

उच्छ्रायिसालवलयं परितोषितस्य
खातं गभीरमरिभिः कथमप्यधृष्यम् ।
गाम्भीर्यमुन्नतिरिति प्रथयत्यमोघं
हेतुं परैर्द्वितयमेतदलङ्घ्यतायाः ॥ (१२-१०४)

पर्याकुले विलसति प्रथनापगाया-
श्छायागतं पयसि गोपुरमुन्नताग्रम् ।
भावस्य यत्र सकलस्य जगद्धिताय
प्रत्यक्षतामपनयत्प्रतिभङ्गलीलाम् ॥ (२१-१०५)

कृतास्पदाः काननसत्वजातयः
तपोभृतां सिद्धिमतामिवाश्रमे ।
जगत्प्रतीतातिविरुद्धवृत्तयः
सहाखिला यत्र वसन्ति देवताः ॥ (१२-११२)

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शिरसि विदधद्राज्ञां श्लाघ्ये पदं विहतात्मना
कृतपरिकरैर्नागैरुग्रैरनुज्झितविग्रहः ।
रिपुकुलपुरध्वंसी गृह्णन्नहीनगुणं धनुः
शिव इव बभौ गामाक्रामन्नसौ धरणीपतिः ॥ (१२-११३)

अथ तस्य विभोरनन्तरो विजयी सद्गुणरत्नसागरः ।
बलभद्रसमानविक्रमो बलभो नाम बभूव पार्थिवः ॥ (१३-१)

स कदाचिदवन्ध्यपौरुषः कुपितो भूपतिरागसि क्वचित् ।
प्रचचाल भटस्थलीभुवः पतिमुन्मूलयितुं मदोद्धतम् ॥ (१३-६)

भरितां भयजातसंभ्रमैरभिनिर्यद्भिरितस्ततो जनैः ।
प्रलयानलभीषणोद्यमः प्रतिपेदे नृपतिर्भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-९)

प्रतिगर्जितुमक्षमैरलं पुरतस्तस्य पुरारितेजसः ।
परितो वनमार्गमाश्रितैरभिनिर्यद्भिरथोपचक्रमे ॥ (१३-१०)

अपनुद्य ततस्ततो रिपून् स्वपरित्राणपरायणोद्यमान् ।
नृपतिर्निजवंशकेतवे नृपरामाय ददौ भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-१२)

अनुजेन ततोऽस्य भूपतेरधरीकृत्य यशांसि भूभृताम् ।
धरणी वरदेन मौषिकी स्वसनाथाकृतकुन्दवर्मणा ॥ (१३-१४)

अभिरक्ष्य भुवं चिराय यो विभवैर्न्यायवशादुपार्जितैः ।
व्यधित प्रथितं मुरद्विषो भुवि नारायणपूर्वकं पुरम् ॥ (१३-१६)

अथ तत्र नृपे यशोनिधौ स्मरणीयां गतिमभ्युपेयुषि ।
स्वसुरस्य सुतः स्मराकृतिः पृथिवीं पालयतिस्म पालकः ॥ (१३-१७)

पृथुतेजसि तत्र चाचिरात्पतिते कालकटाक्षवर्त्मनि ।
पदमस्य भटस्थलीभुवो रिपुरामस्स महानगाहत ॥ (१३-१८)

तमनु प्रमनास्समाख्यया भुवि गम्भीर इति प्रतीतिमान् ।
सुत एव तु पालकस्स्वसुः क्षितिमेनां क्षपितारिरग्रहीत् ॥ (१३-१४)

प्रणिहत्य विपक्षभूपतीन्परिरक्षन्नखिला भुवि प्रजाः ।
प्रजिघाय सवेलमुच्चधीरहताज्ञः कुहचिद्धरापतिः ॥ (१३-१५)

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नयवर्त्मवशादितस्ततो चरतो लेखममुष्य भूमिपु ।
अहरद् बलदर्पमोहितो मरुपूर्वस्य पतिः पुरस्य तम् ॥ (१३-२६)

द्विषता विहितां विलङ्घनामसहस्सोढुमनल्पपौरुषः ।
सहसा मृगदष्टकेसरो विजयी सिंह इवोच्चचाल सः ॥ (१३-२७)

प्रचलद्बलवाजिहेषितश्रवणक्षोभितसर्वदिङ्मुखः ।
अभिहत्य चमूभिराशु तं स्वबलैस्तां स पुरीं समावृणोत् ॥ (१३-२८)

अथ सा रिपुसैन्यमुत्थितं शरवृष्टिप्रकरैरशीशमत् ।
दववह्निमिवाभ्रसंहतिस्तरसा कोलपतेः पताकिनी ॥ (१३-३०)

अपनुद्य रिपून्सहस्रधा बलदर्पोद्धुरया ससेनया ।
दहनं तुहिनांशुवंशजः पुरि तस्यां रभसाददीपयत् ॥ (१३-३१)

परिदह्य पुरीं स पाण्डवः कमनीयामिव खण्डवस्थलीम् ।
परिनिस्सृतकोपपावकः स्वपुरीं प्रत्यनयत्पताकिनीम् ॥ (१३-३८)

व्रजति त्रिदशेषु गण्यतां नृपतौ तस्य निरस्तविद्विषः ।
अनुजो मनुजोत्तमश्चिरं जयमानी जगतीमपालयत् ॥ (१३-३९)

संजज्ञे सकलगुणैकपात्रमस्य स्वस्रीयो वलभ इति प्रतीतनामा ।
भूतानामिह भुवने हितार्थमुच्चैरेकांशः प्रमथपतेरिवावतीर्णः ॥(१३-४३)

बद्धौत्सुक्यो भाविनीं जीवलोकः प्रत्यैक्षिष्ट श्रेयसीं यस्य वृद्धिम् ।
प्रादुर्भावं संप्रपन्नस्य भूमौ बालस्येव स्वर्गपृथ्वीरुहस्य ॥ (१३-४९)

श्रीमानमुष्यावरजः कलानां वेत्ता कृतज्ञो वसतिर्गुणानाम् ।
रामस्य सौमित्रिरिवाजनिष्ट राजा प्रतीतो भुवि राजधर्मा ॥ (१३-५०)

धर्मस्य पाश्चात्ययुगप्रतीक्षास्थानायमानं कलिदुर्बलस्य ।
चेलूरनामानमसौ कदाचिन्महाग्रहारं वलभः प्रपेदे ॥ (१३-५१)

त्यागप्ररोहनिभृतस्थितयस्समन्ताद्व्याप्ताष्षडङ्गलतिकाभिरुदीर्णशाखाः ।
यस्मिन्विधिप्रसवबद्धफलाभिरामास्तिष्ठन्ति वेदतरवो महिता द्विजानाम् (॥१३-५२)

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यत्र द्विजन्मतिलकौ भवनन्दिसंज्ञौ
अक्षीयमानगुणरत्नचयावभूताम् ।
मोहापनोदकरणार्थमिह प्रजानां
शुक्रश्च शक्रसचिवश्च दिवोऽवतीर्णौ ॥ (१३-६१)

तत्राथ चित्रकुसुमस्तबकावतंसै-
रुद्यानशाखिभिरुपस्कृतदिग्विभागम् ।
श्रीमत्सशम्बरपदप्रथिताभिधानं
पुण्यं हरेर्नृपसुतः पुरमाससाद ॥ (१३-६२)

द्रुततरमवतीर्य तत्र यानाद्भुवनगुरुं शिरसा प्रणम्य शौरिम् ।
पुरमथ शतसोमनिर्मितं तत्स पुररिपोरभिराममाससाद ॥ (१३-६७)

यत्राग्रहर्म्यपरिलीननवाम्बुवाहविद्युल्लताकृतचलाचलचित्रलेखम् ।
विप्रोपहारविधितोषितचित्तवृत्तिः शश्वद्विमानमधितिष्ठति चन्द्रमौलिः॥ (१३-६८)

उद्घुष्यते भुवि जनेन विचक्षणेन
यत्रेप्सितानि ददति प्रविचक्षणेन ।
षट्कर्मिणा मुनिवरिष्ठसभा समेति
निश्शेषवेदमुखरेण समस्तशास्त्रम् ॥ (१३-६९)

वादोन्मुखेन कृतधर्मकथान्तरेण
..... ।
अद्धा सभा द्विजगणेन सदैव साक्षा-
दाभाति यत्र वचसामधिदेवतेव ॥ (१३-७०)

तत्र द्विजन्मतिलकैर्विहितस्समेत्य
तद्ग्रामरक्षणविधौ सदृशे स तिष्ठन् ।
तूर्णं नरेन्द्रतनयः परिजीर्णसन्धि-
भूयः परं पुररिपोर्घटयांबभूव ॥ (१३-७१)

अथ द्विजानां शिवशंसिनीभि-
राशीर्भिरुत्तेजितमङ्गलेन ।
भूयस्समासादि नृपात्मजेन
ग्रामादमुष्माद्गुरुपादमूलम् ॥ (१३-७२)

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अथ यौवराज्यमनवद्यं
नृपतिवरलक्षणान्विते ।
नीतिनिपुणहृदयो बलभे
सचकार रामघटमूषिकेश्वरः[1] ॥ (१४-१)

तमनल्पवित्तकुसुमाढ्य-
मुदितकरुणार्द्रपल्लवम् ।
कीर्तिपरिमलमुचं व्यलगन्
अलिनां क्षमारुहमिवार्थिनां गणाः ॥ (१४-४)

सुकुमारचित्तवपुषं त-
मभिजगुरनङ्गमङ्गनाः ।
क्रूरहृदयचरितं सुतरां
अपरं कृतान्तमरिपक्षयोषितः ॥ (१४-५)

वसुधाधिपहृदयेन य-
दभिलषितं क्षणेन सः ।
तत्तदकुरुत यथाभिमतं
पुरुषस्य काय इव पार्थिवात्मजः ॥ (१४-६)

अथ केरलं प्रति स चोल-
नृपतिमभियातुमुत्थितम् ।
साद्यकृतमतिरमुं बलभं .....
प्रजिघाय रामघटिमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-७)

प्रतिहत्य तं स घनरेणु-
निवहापिहितार्करोचिषा ।
तूर्यतुलितजलदध्वनिना
प्रययौ बलेन सह दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥ (१४-८)

द्विरदाश्वयानगतयश्च
कृतपरिकरैस्समं बलैः ।
राजतनयमथ भूमिभृतां
अनुससुराशु तनयास्सहस्रशः ॥ (१४-१२)

(1) Metre Udgata.

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समतीत्य मार्गमतिदीर्घ-
मनतिबहुभिः प्रयाणकैः ।
क्वापि नृपतितनयस्सहसा
विहितोपकार्यमथ स स्म वीक्षते ॥ (१४-१४)

निजमण्डल.....पवेष-
निगदितविपत्तिमागतम् ।
कृतनृपतितनयाय लघु
प्रतिहारिकाथ पुरुषं न्यवेदयत् ॥ (१४-१५)

विहितः प्रविश्य गळिताश्रु-
लुलितनयनः प्रणम्य सः ।
स्वर्गमुपगतममुष्य गुरुं
निजगाद रामघटमूषिकेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-१६)

उपकर्ण्य चैतदुरुसत्व-
विशदहृदयोऽपि तत्क्षणम् ।
अश्रुकलिलनयनाम्बुरुहो
निममज्ज भूयसि स शोकसागरे ॥ (१४-१७)

अथ विक्रमोपहितराम-
पदविरचिताह्वयं रिपुम् ।
प्राप्तमलभदभिवेश्य पुरः-
पदमाशु रामघटमूषिकाह्वयम् ॥ (१४-१८)

स्वकरं करेण स पिपेष
कुपितहृदयो मुहुर्मुहुः ।
हस्तगतमवनिपालसुतः
परिचूर्णयन्निव सपत्नमण्डलम् ॥

अथ तां विहाय गुरुवृत्तिं
अभिपतति मानसे रिपून् ।
तस्य तलमभिविसृज्य भुवनं
सहसैव दृष्टिरसियष्टिमस्पृशत् ॥ (१४-२२)

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उदतिष्ठदाशु सबलेन
कृतपरिकरेण संवृतः ।
अर्थमथ तदभिवेदयितुं
विससर्ज दूतमभिकेरलेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-२३)

तुरगाकुलेन सह तूर्ण-
मथ निववृते बलेन सः ।
ग्राहनिवहगुरुणा पयसा
विनिवृत्तवेल इव यादसां पतिः ॥ (१४-२४)

उपसृत्य नित्यसुसमृद्ध-
विभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।
तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं
शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥ (१४-२५)

प्रतिगृह्य च प्रवरजैन-
जनकृतजयाशिषः ।
कोपभरितहृदयस्सहसा
प्रययौ परैरपहृतं स्वमन्दिरम् ॥ (१४-२६)

विहिताभिषेकमथ तत्र
नरपतिविहारदुर्गमम् ।
प्राज्यबलमुपरुरोध बहि-
र्महता बलेन वलभस्समूषिकम् ॥ (१४-५०)

अगमत्क्षयं बलभसैन्य
जलधिविसरेण भूयसा ।
अथ समिति रिपुराजचमूः
पृतनेव पाण्डवबलेन कौरवी ॥ (१४-५१)

पृथिवीपतिः प्रकृतिभिस्स
निशि नयगतिं विबोधितः ।
भूरिबलमपहाय ययौ
प्रबले रिपौ गतिरियं हि भूभृताम् ॥

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तीव्रप्रतापभरिताखिलदिग्विभागे
भूत्यै भुवः स्फुरति तत्र नरेन्द्रसूनौ ।
तत्याज मूषिकपतिस्स विहारदुर्गं
सूर्योदये तुहिनरश्मिरिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ (१४-५५)

वध्यान्निहत्य वलभः प्रविहाय हेयान्
ग्राह्यान्प्रगृह्य परिपीड्य च पीडनीयान् ।
लक्ष्मीमथानुगुणयन्नयविक्रमाभ्यां
अह्राय मूषिकभुवं स वशीचकार ॥ (१४-६०)

दृप्तारिकोपाशीखिना हृदि तप्तमूर्तेः
निर्वापणार्थमिव मङ्गलदेवतायाः ।
प्रावर्तत प्रकृतिपौरजनाभिरामः
पुण्ये त्रिभोरहनि तस्य महाभिषेकः ॥ (१४-६१)

सांयात्रिकप्रहितपोतपथावतीर्ण-
द्वीपान्तरद्रविणसारवृतापणाढ्यं ।
किल्लासरिज्जलधिसङ्गमसन्निकृष्टं
माराहि नाम नगरं नृपतिश्चकार ॥ (१६-६६)

भूयश्चकार पृथुगोपुरभिन्नतुङ्ग-
प्राकारचित्रविहितातुलगुप्तिशोभम् ।
वर्धिष्णुखातसलिलं प्रथनातरङ्गैः
विभ्रत्सदा वलभपत्तनवृद्धिमुच्चैः ॥ (१४-६७)

शान्ते प्रशान्तविपदं शरणागतानां
चण्डेश्वरस्य वटुकेश्वरमन्दिरस्य ।
आखण्डलारिबलदुस्सहवीर्यमार्यं
भक्त्या सदेवमनयन्नृपतिः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ (१४-६८)

उत्तीर्णसागरजलेन कुलं रिपूणां
हत्वा बलेन हरिकुञ्जरभीषणेन ।
लङ्काह्वयं रघुपतिः परमेकमेव
द्वीपान्बहूनभृत रामघटेश्वरस्तु ॥ (१४-६९)

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किरणेन शुभ्रगुणरत्नसंपदां
यशसा शिवेन दशदिग्विसर्पिणा ।
मुखरीचकार कविलोकमूर्जितं
वलभस्सरामघटमूषिकेश्वरः ।। (१४-७१)

दृष्टान्तभूतचरितो महतां स राज्ञां
दिष्टान्तमेत्य गलिते वयसि क्षितीशः ।
अम्भोधिवीचिरशनां जगतीमनाथां
भूयश्चकार चपलां भुवि राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१४-७२) ॥

पतित इव नगो हिमेतरांशौ
गलित इवापि च जीविते शरीरम् ।
अशिवमतितरामशेषमाप
धरणितलं रहितं नरेश्वरेण ॥ (१४-७४)

श्रीकण्ठ इत्यवरजोऽथ नृपस्य तस्य
श्रीकण्ठपादसरसीरुहराजहंसः ।
श्रीकण्ठनाथ इव शौर्यगुणेन हर्ष-
श्रीकण्ठसङ्ज्ञिनि भुजे भुवमाससर्ज ॥ (१५-१)

पीनोन्नतस्थिरतरांसतटं प्रलम्ब-
ज्याघातलाञ्छितकठोरतरप्रकोष्ठम् ।
कौक्षेयकत्सरुकिणाङ्कतलाङ्गुलीकं
यद्बाहुदण्डमजितं भजते जयश्रीः ।। (१५-२)

भर्ता फणीन्द्रशयनीयमिवेन्दिरायाः
क्रोडं पितामह इवादिसरोरुहस्य ।
कैलासशैलमिव च स्वयमेव देव-
श्चेतो यदीयमधितिष्ठति शूलपाणिः ॥ (१५-३)

क्रीडाचलान्क्षितिधरेष्ववलोकितेषु
जैत्रद्विपान्वनगजेन्द्रकदम्बकेषु
भ्रष्टास्स्वराज्यविभवाद्यदरातिनार्यः
स्रोतस्विनीषु च कृतास्सरितः स्मरन्ति ॥ (१५-८)

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पुष्णाति यः प्रतिदिनं श्रियमाश्रितानां
पुष्णाति चैव विपदं प्रतिभूपतीनाम् ।
पाता भुवस्सकलसागरवारिसीम्नः
पाता च यस्सकलकाव्यकथामृतानाम् ॥ (१५-९)

धर्मानुकूलमसकृद्विदधाति योऽर्थं
धर्मार्थयोरनुगुणं च करोति कामम् ।
इत्येषु सन्निपतितेषु कृतात्मनां हि
वृत्तिर्बलाबलवशेन विचक्षणानाम् ॥ (१५-११)

सामादिभिः स्वविषयाचरितैरुपायैः
कार्याणि भूमिपतयः खलु साधयन्ति ।
सङ्कल्पमात्रघटितार्थविधिर्य एष
तिष्ठत्यचिन्त्यमहिमा भुवि कोऽपि देवः ॥ (१५-२३)

देवो मुकुन्द इव पन्नगवैरिलक्ष्मा
सोमान्वयप्रणयमीश इवादधानः ।
काले पितामह इवार्थितजन्यसर्गः
यश्शश्वदार्द्रसुमना मरुतामिवौघः ॥ (१५-२५)

प्रक्षीणशत्रुनिवहं परिवृद्धशक्ति-
षड्वर्गमोक्षचतुरं गजबन्धुयुक्तम् ।
एकातपत्रमथ नैकनरेन्द्रजुष्टं
यस्यास्तदोषमुदितार्धं विभाति राज्यम् ॥ (१५-३०)

स्वर्गं प्रदाय रिपवे धरणीं तदीयां
दत्वा वसु द्विजगणाय तदाशिषोऽपि ।
वक्षोमनोज्ञमपवर्ज्य विलासिनीभ्यो
गृह्णाति यः प्रतिदिनं हृदयानि तासाम् ॥ (१५-३४)

जीयाच्चिराय करवालसखेन दोष्णा
राजाऽयमप्रतिरथो भुवि राजवर्मा ।
पीत्वेति रक्तरसकं सह कामिनीभिः
नृत्यन्ति यस्य रणमूर्धनि यातुधानाः ॥ (१५-३५)

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लक्ष्म्या प्रतीतयशसा भुवि कर्तृनाम्ना
भर्ताह्वयेन च दधद्वटुकेश्वराख्याम् ।
पुंसो वपुर्विधिरिवैष जरावतीर्णं
भूयो नवं व्यधित मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेः ॥ (१५-३६)

यच्चास्तभोगविकलं पुर एव तत्र
ख्यातं गृहं खरवनाह्वयमीश्वरस्य ।
कालेन तद्विघटितं समधत्त भूयः
पक्षोपलक्ष्यमिव बिम्बमतिग्मरश्मेः ॥ (१५-३८)

यो हीरणेश्वर इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
सौधाग्ररुद्धहरिदश्वरथाश्वमार्गम् ।
जीर्णं कदाचिदवलोक्य तमेवदध्यौ
देवस्य मन्मथरिपोर्दयितं निवासम् ॥ (१५-३९)

यस्यैव मूर्तिमतुलां सचराचरस्य
वासं वदन्ति कृतिनो भुवनत्रयस्य ।
भग्नोऽयमस्य वसतिः परमेश्वरस्य
कष्टं भवेदिह जगत्यमुतः किमन्यत् ॥ (१५-४०)

विश्लिष्टसंचलमहोपलसन्धिबन्धं
भग्नेक....पतितजर्जरदारुखण्डम् ।
शम्भोरिहैव निलयं प्रविशीर्यमाणं
दृष्ट्वा ममाद्य झटिति स्फटतीव चेतः ॥ (१५-४१)

मूर्ध्नि च्युतावरणके मुहुरष्टमूर्तेः
पादेषु वासरपतेः स्फुटमापतत्सु ।
छायामिमां विदधता परितापहेतु-
मर्थो ममाद्य क इवातपवारणेन ॥ (१५-४५)

दाक्षायणीघटितवामभुजं वरेण्यं
भूयः करेण भुजगान्परिलालयन्तम् ।
अभ्यासभित्तिबिलकोटरवासिनोऽमी
सर्पास्त्यजन्ति न कृतज्ञतयेव शर्वम् ॥ (१५-४३)

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शीतांशुखण्डतरले शिरसि स्मरारे-
र्यस्मिन्पपात सुरलोकसरित्प्रवाहः ।
प्रासादभङ्गगतयो घुणचूर्णमिश्राः
तस्मिन्पदं दधति संप्रति वृष्टिधाराः ॥ (१५-४६)

साञ्छिन्नपर्व...मिति सार्थितपुण्यकर्ता
.....भगवतास्त्रिपुरान्तकस्य ।
भूयश्चकार तदसौ प्रतिमावशेष-
मभ्यक्तशेषमिव विष्टपमादिदेवः ॥ (१५-४७)

प्राप्ते पुनर्नवदशां वटुकेश्वरेऽस्मिन्
सोहीरणेश्वरपुरे खरकानने च ।
अर्थान्परैरपहृतानपरांश्च दत्वा
पूर्वोचितान्पुनरधत्त शिवोपहारान् ॥ (१५-४८)

रक्षोभुजाग्रतुलनच्युतसन्धिबन्धं
हित्वा गतास्तमिव राजतमद्रिराजम् ।
येष्वग्रचुम्बिततुषाररुचौ विमाने
वासं व्यधत्त भगवान् वृषराजकेतुः ॥ (१५-४९)

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## NO. 10.—MŪSHIKA VAMSA: A STUDY.

The name Mūshaka or Mūshika as applied to a country is met with in a hazy manner both in inscriptions and in literature. King Maṅgaḷēśa Raṇavikrānta of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi mentions the Mūshaka country among the countries conquered by him, *viz.*, the Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa and Chōḷiya countries. From the proximity of the above mentioned countries to the Mūshaka country, we are led to infer that it must be somewhere in the southern Presidency. The name occurs also in some *purāṇas* with those of other countries. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* mentions that Malaināḍu was divided into four parts, namely :

"(1) The Tuḷu kingdom extending from Gōkarṇam to Perumpuḷa, *i.e.*, the Canaras (north and south very nearly as at present defined ;

"(2) The Kūpaka kingdom extending from Perumpuḷa to Puduppaṭṭaṇam, the seat of the Tekkaṅkūr (Southern Regent) of the north Kōlāttiri dynasty situated on the Kōṭṭa river, *i.e.*, North Malabar as at present defined *less* the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnāḍu Tālūkā ;

"(3) the Kēraḷa kingdom extending from Puduppaṭṭaṇam to Kannetti, that is, South Malabar, including the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnāḍu Tālūkā ; and

"(4) the Mūshika kingdom extending from Kannetti to Cape Comorin, that is, South Travancore". This division existed in so early a period as the reign of the first of the Perumāḷ kings, Kēya Perumāḷ and a subsequent Perumāḷ, by name Ārya Perumāḷ, also divided the Malaināḍu into the same four parts.

There is absolutely no mention in the Tamiḻ Nighaṇṭus both the earlier and the later ones, of any kingdom known as the Mūshaka kingdom.

The name of this kingdom occurs either as Mūshaka or Mūshika. Who the rulers of the Mūshaka kingdom were is not known from any source. Quite recently a manuscript containing a *kāvya* called the *Mūshikavaṁśam* was obtained and studied ; in the midst of a lot of legendary stories, we find a few grains of what appears to be real history, of which however epigraphy is utterly ignorant. If an analysis of its contents is published, it is hoped that it will help any one studying the history of the Mūshakavaṁśa from the epigraphical standpoint. An abstract of the *kāvya* is therefore given below. It will be found that the matter contained in the last *sargas* appear to be historical.

From the style of the composition, the *kāvya* seems to be a somewhat old one; at the end of the second *sarga* it is stated that it was written by one *Atula* (*Atula kritau*) ; who he was, and whatever other works he might have written cannot be found out at present.

Some portions of the first and subsequent *sargas* are left blank in the original—perhaps because the original was lost in those places, or the author had left them to be filled up subsequently ; the former is the more likely cause of the existence of such blanks ; however the following account is made out from the remaining portions of this *sarga*.

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## Sarga I.

While Paraśurāma was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, some one king was killed; his queen who was then carrying attempted to commit *sati*, but the *purōhita* of the family dissuaded her from her determination, took her with him from the south to the north and hid her in a cavern and began supplying her with fruits, roots, etc., for her food. During his absence one day a rat as big as an elephant entered the cavern and was going to devour the lady; when she cried aloud the *purōhita* came back; from the burning anger in the eyes of the queen, fire arose and burnt the rat down. The soul of the rat appeared immediately in the form of the Parvatarāja (as a mountain) with his attendants, the *Vanadēvatās* (forest deities, *i.e.*, a mountain appeared covered with forests). The Parvatarāja astonished at his own change, began to narrate to the queen and her *purōhita* his previous history as follows:—

"In this place, the *ṛishi* Kuśika was making penance, when I in the form of a rat happened to enjoy in his presence the company of my wife who had also assumed the form of a mountain rat and thereby offended him, he cursed me that I should become a rat and should not enjoy the company of my wife; but by the intercession of my wife, it pleased the *ṛishi* to declare that the effect of the curse would leave me soon enough. It is my good fortune that you came here to wipe off the curse I was suffering under." So saying the Parvatarāja disappeared, but the queen continued to live there till she was brought to bed of a male child.

## Sarga II.

The *purōhita* performed all the *saṁskāras* for the child and gave him education in all branches of learning prescribed for Kshatriyas. Meanwhile the anger of Paraśurāma abated of its own accord; he repaired to this Mount Ēḷi and performed, with the aid of Vasishṭha and other *ṛishis*, several *yāgas* to wipe off the sin of slaughtering the Kshatriyas. In the middle of one of these *yāgas*, there came an occasion when a Kshatriya was required to do something connected with the *yāga;* Paraśurāma was despairing of getting a Kshatriya. To relieve the constraint in which the prince and his mother were living near the Mount Ēḷi, the Parvatarāja appeared before Paraśurāma, and informed him to his joy of the existence of a Kshatriya prince near by who, with his mother and *purōhita*, was hiding in Mount Ēḷi. With the permission of Paraśurāma, the child was brought before him and the ceremony connected with the *yaga* was finished. Pleased with the prince, he crowned him king of the country in which Ēḷi stood and performed the *paṭṭābhishēka* ceremony by pouring pots-full of consecrated water on his head. Because he was made the king of the Mūshaka country and because he was bathed with pots (*ghaṭa*) of water by Paraśurāma, he was given the name Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa and became famous under this name. As soon as the news of subsidence of the anger of Paraśurāma spread everywhere, those kshatriyas who had escaped his wrath, returned to their respective kingdoms and ruled over them. Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa chose for his minister, a native of Māhishmati, of the Vaiśya caste by name Māhānāvika and made Kōla the capital of his dynasty. After making sufficient internal arrangements, Rāmaghaṭa embarked upon the project of conquering other kings; before starting on this business, he desired to worship Paraśurāma on the Mount Ēḷi for which he left his capital Kōlam and reached a place resplendent with beautiful gardens where blew the wind from the river Vaprā laden with the scents of the lotus and *utpala* flowers. He then crossed the river Kiḷḷā and proceeding by the seacoast reached Mount Ēḷi; he circumambulated the hill with his armies.

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## Sarga III.

This chapter describes the hill in great detail in the fashion of *kāvyas* in general. Rāmaghaṭa ascended the hill and made obeisance to Paraśurāma.

## Sargas IV, V and VI.

The king, without any pomp accompanied by his *purōhita* and a select few members of his army, ascended the hill, prostrated before Paraśurāma, obtained his blessing and a few arms which he was pleased to present, and started back to his capital. On the way he learnt that the king of Magadha, Mādhavavarman, had taken away Māhishmati, one of the towns belonging to himself: thereupon he consulted with Mahānāvika his minister whether it was not imperative that he should punish Mādhavavarman and then proceed on his *digvijaya*. The minister replied: "Sire, the news of your Majesty's tour of conquest must have necessarily reached the ears of the kings in the southern region and therefore it is rumoured that they have combined against you but are not yet ready to oppose you. If now we strike a blow at them, their countries will become ours. Then with the armies of the kings thus reduced to submission we may march against the Magadha king." The king took kindly to the advice offered by his minister, left a small contingent to protect his country which was naturally well guarded by the mountain fastnesses and started on an expedition against the kings of the Dakshiṇāpatha; one by one all the kings were either conquered and subjugated or they themselves joined his camp as allies. He marched with their armies along the eastern sea coast and reached the foot of the Vindhya mountain and encamped on the bank of the river Rēvā. Mādhavavarman collecting all the armies of his friends and subordinates of the Uttarāpatha, came to the very same spot where Rāmaghaṭa was camping. At first Rāmaghaṭa tried peaceful overtures through ambassadors with his opponent offering him many advantages if he submitted to his suzerainty without bloodshed. All his good counsels proved useless and a fierce battle was fought in which the king of Magadha was killed. Then Rāmaghaṭa took possession of Bhadrasēnā, the daughter of Mādhavavarman and married her. He also installed on the throne of Magadha the son of Mādhavavarman. While on his way back to his capital, he stopped for some days at Māhishmati, the capital of the Haihaya kingdom (which belonged to him).

Two sons were born to him by Bhadrasēnā, named respectively Vaṭu and Nandana. Of these elder Vaṭu was made the king of Haihaya. On his return, the king Rāmaghaṭa performed several *yagas* and eventually, handing over charge of the government of the Kōla kingdom to his younger son Nandana, he retired to the forest, where he expired.

## Sargas VII, VIII, IX and X.

Nandana was an indolent prince who resigned all the functions of the government in the hands of ministers, and gave himself up to carnal pleasures. This and the other *sargas* describe, in the usual manner of the *kāvyas*, the various enjoyments indulged in by Nandana.

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## Sarga XI.

The following legendary genealogy is given in this *sarga* :—

1. Mūshika Rāmaghaṭa ; *md.* Bhadrasēnā (Daughter of the Magadha king). — his mantrin was Mahānāvika (Vaiśya) who was a native of Māhishmati. This king made *Kōlam* his capital.

- Vaṭu (Appointed regent of Haihayadēśa).
- 2. Nandana became king of Kōla.
  - 3. Ugra
    - 4. Ugradhanva
      - 5. Simbasēnā
        - 6. Chandravarman
          - 7...hatsuta
            - 9. Bṛihatsēna
          - 8. Ugrāśvan
            - 10. Chitrakētana died in a lion hunting expedition, on the Vindhya mountain.
              - 11. Śatasōma, set up Chandraśēkhara in the temple at Chēlara.
                - 12. Aśvasēna
                  - 13. Simhakētu
                    - 14. Viśvapāla
                      - 15. Śarmadatta
                        - 16. Rudravarman

Here are mentioned the following rather long list of names of kings who are said to have succeeded to the throne :—Vyāghrasēna, Pṛithudyumna, Vajradhara, Palāhaka, Bhīmavarman, Bṛihatsēna, Daksha, Atula, Nayavardhana, Mitrasōma, Bhadra, Vīravarman, Amitakratu, Jagadaśva, Suradyumna, Arjunavarman, Ugrabāhu, Jayāditya, Vratasēna ; these nineteen kings obtained from Śiva the boon of being able to live as long as they pleased. After having ruled the country duly, each one departed to the other world. Then came the kings Utpalāksha, Mahākīrtti, Dēvadyumna, Bṛihaddyuti, Ugra, Manu and Bṛihat-grīva.

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Bṛithatgrīva.
|
Vaṭukavarman, set up Vaṭukēśvara in Ālasuddhi.
|
Ahīraṇa, built a Śiva temple known as Ahīraṇēśvara on the west bank of the river Pratanā.
|
Raṇabhadra.
|
Āryagupta.
|
Achala, built the city of Achalappattana near the Mount Ēḷi.

| Aśvasēna. | Vikramasēna. |
|---|---|
| | Vinayavarman. |
| Jayamāni, (obtained the aid of the Pāṇḍyas and regained his kingdom.) | Rājavarman |
| Udayavarman. | |
| Udayāditya. | |
| Virōchana, killed the Pallava in battle and took his daughter (in marriage ?) | |
| Dvirōchana. (?) | |
| Kālasēna. | |
| Vyāḷasēna. | |

In this family were born Śatruntapa, Bṛihadbāhu, Prithukīrti, Amitrajit and Dīpanika ;

Dīpanika.

| Śaśidatta | Janavrata. |
|---|---|
| (*md.* a princess of Magadha). | |

These two quarrelled for the throne and killed each other.

After these the following princes ruled the kingdom, namely, Vajrasēna, Sura, Viśāla, Mahasvan, Ajila, Pushkala, Bahukirti, Sukētu, Vikaṭa, Sadhanva, Satyavrata, Chaturakētu, Svarbhānu, Uttamakala, Sakala, Adrikētu, Kāmaprada, Nayadhana, Kavikarkaśa, Parjanya, Nipātavarman, Turasvan, Sumati, Amitrabhavichanda (?) Akshōbhya, Samarasaha and Mahōdaya ; the rest of the genealogy is as follows :—

Mahōdaya.
|
Śivacharita.
|
Īśāna.

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It is from Kuñchivarman, the son of Īśāna the really historical portion of the genealogy begins.

Īśāna I.
|
Kuñchivarman.
|
Daughter *md.* to the Kēraḷarāja. — Īśānavarman (II).

## Sarga XII.

Kuñchivarman died while his son was young. The time for the marriage of Īśānavarman II arrived; the minister suggested the following to his master: "The king of Chēdirājya, being ousted from his government and driven away lives *incognito* in the vicinity; he has got a daughter named Nandinī possessing all the desirable qualification for a queen." The prince accepted his proposal and married the daughter of the Chēdi king; Īśānavarma (II) the lord of Haihayadēśa, sent a large army and reinstated his father-in-law on his throne.

Meanwhile, the Kēraḷa king Raghupati *alias* Jayarāga had taken up arms against the Mūshaka king. This news enraged Īśānavarman so much that he marched his army to arrest the progress of the Kēraḷa forces. The two armies met on the bank of the river Parushṇi. The king Īśānavarman is known from now by the *biruda* Raṇamāni. In the thick of the battle which ensued, Gōda *alias* Kēraḷakētu, the son of the Raghupati Jayarāga, interceded between his father and his maternal uncle and stopped the fight and persuaded them to make peace with each other; thus was peace concluded. After this event, the Kēraḷa king having stayed for sometime in Kōla the capital of his brother-in-law, returned to his country.

Īśānavarman had no children by Nandinī, the Chēdi princess; so he married a daughter of the Chōḷa king; she bore him a son named Nṛiparāma. Nandinī feeling herself too small before her co-wife devoted herself to the worship of the goddess Chaṇḍikā. The goddess was pleased with her devotion and granted her a son who was named Pālaka, and a daughter. The grandfather of Pālaka desiring to see his grandson sent for the child to his capital and the lad stayed away there for a long time.

The king Īśānavarman set up the figure of Śiva in several temples. After the death of Īśānavarman the people went to Pālaka to request him to assume the sovereignty which he declined saying while the elder Nṛiparāma was there, he should not yield to their request. After Nṛiparāma had reigned for sometime he died leaving behind a baby son: his name was Chandravarman. He also died shortly after he became king. The country became subject to foreign invasion and the Mūshaka country could not think of any other to assume the sovereignty of their kingdom except Pālaka. The people despatched emissaries to bring Pālaka for the Chēdi country. He came, conquered the enemies and became the sovereign of the Kōlarājya. After him succeeded his nephew (sister's son) Validhara. This prince was attacked in his own place by the Gaṅga army which came from the foot of the Vindhya but was successfully repulsed by that of the Mūshaka king.

Ripurāma, the nephew of Validhara, succeeded him. After him came Vikramarāma, the son of Ripurāma. In the reign of this king, the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost

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submerging the temple of *Jina*. By throwing large blocks of stone, he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction. He was succeeded by Janamāni, Śaṅkhavarman and Jayamāni. When the poet refers to Kōla the capital of the kingdom, he describes it as situated on the bank of the river Prathanā and that it was surrounded by a powerful fort encircled by deep moats. It is stated that just as the proverb goes that in the *āsrama* of those great beings who have attained the *siddhis*, beasts naturally inimical to each other live in harmony, so in the country of Mūshaka religions with dreadfully opposed doctrines flourished harmoniously.

## Sarga XIII.

Vaḷabha the powerful and eminent sovereign reigned next. Once upon a time the chief of Bhaṭasthali revolted against Vaḷabha; the latter marched against the chief of Bhaṭasthali and drove him out of his country and conferred it upon Nṛiparāma, a member of his family.

Kundavarman, the younger brother of Vaḷabha, succeeded his brother in the government of the Mūshika kingdom. He was renowned throughout the world as a wise and good sovereign and ruled his kingdom for a long time. He built the town named Nārāyaṇapura in honour of the god Vishṇu.

After Kundavarman died, his nephew (sister's son), Pālaka ascended the throne, but died after a short reign. His relation, Ripurāma, the governor of Bhaṭasthali, took up the government of the Mūshaka-rājya and ruled over it in a commendable manner. Ripurāma was succeeded by Gambhīra, the nephew of Pālaka. On one occasion, the chief of Marupura intercepted the despatches of Gambhīra, which, coming to the knowledge of the latter, so excited his wrath that he started forthwith to punish the offending prince, met him in battle defeated and killed him and also set fire to his town and burnt it completely.

Gambhīra was succeeded by his younger brother Jayamāni. Nothing noteworthy is recorded of him except that he reigned for a long time. His nephew, Vaḷabha, was appointed the *yuvarāja* of the Mūshaka-rājya. Vaḷabha had a younger brother named Rājadharmā. When he was young, Vaḷabha paid a visit to the flourishing brāhmaṇa village of Chellūra, which was retaining still the traits of a better age than the present Kaliyuga, where brāhmaṇas were learned in the Vēdas and were duly performing the various rites and ceremonies and where once lived the famous brāhmaṇas, Bhava and Nandi. When he approached Śambarapura, the suburb of Chellūra, the prince got down from his vehicle, walked to the famous temple of Vishṇu in that town and offered obeisance to that deity. Then he went to the temple of Śiva constructed by Śatasōma and worshipped the god, who is said to be pleased with those who please the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas of that place requested him to have the temple repaired and this he ordered to be done immediately. Receiving the blessings of the brāhmaṇas of that village he returned to the capital where lived his uncle and other elders.

## Sarga XIV.

Rāmaghaṭa, (this appears to be another name of Jayamāni) learnt that the king of Kēraḷa had started out to oppose the Chōḷa king who was invading his country and to assist the former he sent his nephew Vaḷabha. After making obeisance to his uncle and obtaining his permission, Vaḷabha proceeded southwards to join the king of Kēraḷa, with drums and bugles sounding. The journey was a long and tedious one and had to be done in several stages. One day, while camping

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on his way, a messenger brought the sad news of the death of the king Rāmaghaṭa and the usurpation of the country by one Vikramarāma. The anger of Vaḷabha on hearing the latter news was even more than the sorrow for the death of his uncle. He proceeded straight against the usurper, after sending word to the king of Kēraḷa about the happenings in his country. On the way he paid a visit to the rich and flourishing temple of Sugata (Buddha) at the holy and righteous town of Mūlavāsa, worshipped the Lord of the temple, received the blessings of the Jaina (Bauddha ?) great men of that place and proceeded directly to the capital of his kingdom. As soon as he reached it, he laid siege to the fort in which Vikramarāma had taken his stand. Not being able to withstand the siege Vikramarāma secretly quitted the fort that night and escaped. Next morning Vaḷabha took possession of the fort and put to the sword such of the inmates as deserved capital punishment, drove away all useless men and took under his protection those that submitted to him peacefully, and assumed the sovereignty of his ancestral kingdom of Mūshaka. The priests performed the *abhishēka* (anointment) ceremony on an auspicious day by bathing him with sanctified water poured from golden vessels. The sight of this prince, covered with a coating of sandal paste and seated upon a golden throne resembled the elephant Airāvata standing upon the summit of the mount Mēru. As the fame of Vaḷabha began to spread the prosperity of other kings began to fall. He founded at the mouth of the river Kiḷḷā the port of Murāhi, which became replete with the articles of merchandize brought in ship from distant lands by foreign merchants. He also erected a fort with high walls, having loftly towers in them and surrounded by deep moats at Vaḷabhapaṭṭaṇam. He also set up with great piety the god Ārya (Śāstā), whose prowess is dreaded by the *asuras*. The great hero Rāma (of the *Rāmāyana*) crossed the sea and conquered only one island, Lanka, but Vaḷabha took several islands. No other king possessed to that degree enthusiasm, liberality, power and other good qualities as did Vaḷabha. He was a great patron of learning and was highly praised by the poets of his time.

## Sarga XV.

After Vaḷabha, Śrīkaṇṭha (=Rājadharma ?), his brother, who was a devotee of Śrīkaṇṭha (=Śiva), ascended the throne. While referring to this king the poem distinctly states that he was living at the time of its composition. Throughout it employs the present tense in mentioning his qualities, which the poet describes in 36 verses and prays for his long life. It is stated that Śrīkaṇṭha was a very powerful king. He repaired the temples of Vaṭukēśvara and Ahīraṇēśvara; of these the latter was completely ruined and there remained only the image of the god Ahīraṇēśvara. He recovered all the lands belonging to the temples from those who had misappropriated them and himself granted to the temples more lands and riches. Thus gloriously was reigning the king Śrīkaṇṭha. (A large number of verses after this portion is left off in the only copy of the poem available to me). So far about the contents of the *kāvya*.

Let me now discuss a few points of historical interest in it in the next section.

(*To be continued*).

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